BOSTON UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE SCHOOL

Dissertation

GEORGE FOX'S CONCEPT OF THE CHURCH

by

Arthur O. Roberts

(A.B., George Fox College, 1944)

(B.D., Nazarene Theological Seminary, 1951)

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

1954

PhD
1954
Ro

Approved
by

First Reader . . Richard M. Cameron . . . . .

Professor of Church History

Second Reader Denis P. Booth . . . . . .

Professor of Historical Theology

PREFACE

I wish to extend my appreciation to the following libraries, the facilities of which were made available for my study, and to the librarians and assistants for whose helpfulness I am very grateful: The Chenery and School of Theology libraries of Boston University; Andover-Harvard, Widener, and Houghton libraries of Harvard University; and the Boston Public Library.

I am deeply grateful to the faculty members of Boston University under whom I studied; and I am especially indebted to Professor Richard M. Cameron and Professor Edwin P. Booth for their scholarly guidance and their friendly interest.

To the people of the Grasmere and Goffstown, New Hampshire, Methodist churches my appreciation is extended for the kind of sympathetic understanding that has made my work possible.

The love and faith of my family and friends has geven me the kind of encouragement that makes this study doubly rewarding.

CONTENTS

page

PREFACE iii

CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION 1

Statement of the Problem 1

Review of Literature in the Field 3

The Sources 12

Definitions and Limitations 14

CHAPTER II. GEORGE FOX AND THE LARGER SEARCH FOR THE CHURCH 15

The Quest for Authority 15

Movements Influencing Fox 21

Summary 46

CHAPTER III. THE CHURCH IN APOSTASY 48

Impure Conduct 49

Empty Forms 54

Unworthy Methods of Maintenance 60

Inadequate Doctrines 68

Summary 72

CHAPTER IV. THE CHURCH GATHERED OUT OF THE WORLD. . . 74

Through the Revelation of God 75
In Scripture
Contemporaneously

In the Power of Jesus Christ 90
Historically revealed
Inwardly authenticated

page

By Effecting the Restoration of Man 106
Elected in Christ
Perfected in Christ

Summary 123

CHAPTER V. THE CHURCH IN THE WORLD 124

A Gospel Fellowship 125
An inward bond
An outward recognition

A Gospel Order 129
An historic basis for authority
A check to individualism
Church authority on a universal basis
Leadership by divine unction

A Holy Community 146
Devotionally in worship
Ethically through the testimonies
Socially through Christian community

A Fellowship of Evangelism 164
A voluntary ministry
An evangelistic ministry
A ministry called, sustained, regulated

Summary 172

CHAPTER VI. THE CHURCH AND HISTORY 174

A Realized Eschatology: "Christ is come". . 175
In judgment
In leadership

An Expected Eschatology: ". . . and Coming" 181
The Church and the state
The final judgment

Summary 194

CHAPTER VII. CONCLUSION 196

BIBLIOGRAPHY 201

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Statement of the Problem

George Fox is one of the most interesting figures of the turbulent Commonwealth and Restoration periods of English history. His life and leadership among the early Friends have made his name synonomous with certain aspects of religious and social reform. The task of this present study is to determine the significance of his concept of the Church for his doctrinal teachings and for his work as a reformer in the Church. Fox was no systematic theologian. This study adopts as a working hypothesis that the discovery of a dominant ideal will provide the most suitable framework for his views. This dominant ideal is sought by an investigation of his concept of the Church.

One reason for such a study is that the current interest in theology among modern Friends has driven them back not only to Christology but also to ecclesiology--to a concept of the Church. Fox's views are normative for the early movement because of his leadership which he exercised among the people who became known as "Quakers."

A second reason for such a study is that the central place which the Church-idea held in the writing and preach-

ing of the early "Publishers of Truth" warrants consideration of this concept as a clue, or guide, to doctrines and practices. The success or failure of a religious movement to attain a measure of its ideal should only lead to greater study of the ideal. The very name, "The Society of Friends", because of modern connotations of exclusiveness associated with the term "society", is prejudicial to an understanding of any concept of the Church. Quakers not only have to witness the fewness of numbers, which makes any claim to a true concept of the Church difficult to maintain, but they also have to labor under this name -- "Society of Friends" --which did not come into usage earlier than 1800, and which certainly does not suggest to the modern mind the vaster visions of George Fox.[1]

A third reason for approaching Fox through his concept of the Church is that the twentieth century world, like seventeenth century England, seeks both authority and unity. Protestant Christians have talked much, of late, regarding ecumenicity. Roman catholicism has its authority; is there a catholicism that carries with it a unity consonant with freedom? Fox's views merit a hearing.

---

[1] Journal of the Friends Historical Society, vol. xxxii (1935), p. 83. Cited by A. Neave Brayshaw, The Quakers: Their Story and Message (London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1946), p. 44. See also Geoffrey F. Nuttall, Studies in Christian Enthusiasm, Illustrated from Early Quakerism (Pendle Hill, 1948), p. 18. In an aside, he writes, "Friends no longer speak thus of 'the Churches,' which is a pity."

A final reason to be advanced for this study is that such an approach has not been presented in concise form, as the following review will show.

Review of Literature in the Field

There are five main categories into which the historical treatment of George Fox falls.

(1) Fox is considered as the chief instrument used of God to restore vital Christianity. This approach is taken by those who shared the first enthusiasms or, at least, were steeped in its glory. William Penn believed Fox to be a "chosen vessel" through which God visited "this benighted and bewildered nation with his glorious day-spring."[1]

William Sewel, of Amsterdam, translated his own original Low Dutch work into English in 1722. It is the standard history, treating the Quaker movement as the culmination of reform. ". . . it pleased God," he writes, "who is used to enlighten men gradually, to make yet a clearer discovery of his truth. . ."[2]

As Sewel wrote, in part, to correct both the unsympathetic attitude and irresponsible scholarship of Gerard Croese's Historia Quakeriana (1695), so John Gough, in 1790, attempted to rescue "deserving characters" from

---

[1]William Penn, Rise and Progress of the People Called Quakers (Philadelphia ed., 1838), p. 20. This book serves, in whole or in part, to introduce Fox's Journal.

[2]William Sewel, History of the Quakers, etc. (Philadelphia ed., 1856), I, 23.

contempt and from alleged misrepresentations of von Mosheim.[1] "Providence saw meet to raise up an instrument to gather a people from those who were dissatisfied. . . and were looking for the revelation of the Gospel in greater purity. . .," is Gough's appraisal of Fox's position.[2]

(2) Fox is considered to have given the clearest expression of Christian principles and doctrines. The emphasis in this group of nineteenth century writers is one of vindicating a position by reference to this worthy father of the faith. Samuel M. Janney (Hicksite) and Thomas Evans (Orthodox) represent opposing points of view. The former's Life of George Fox, with Dissertation on his Views includes a section of interpreted quotations from Fox and from others; the latter's Exposition of the Faith is a more elaborate topical arrangement of selected doctrinal statements. Joséph John Gurney articulated the needs of the nineteenth century by showing the fundamental doctrines with which Friends are in harmony with "other bodies of true Christian believers," while holding out the "Distinguishing Views" of Friends. He is convinced that Fox and the others were able "to make a very near approach to the incorruptness of primitive Christianity.[3]

---

[1] John Gough, History of the People Called Quakers, (Dublin: MDCCXC), I, preface.

[2] Ibid., p. 56.

[3] Joseph John Gurney, Observations on the Distinguishing Views & Practices of the Society of Friends (London: John and Arthur Arch, 1834), p. 480.

(3) Fox is studied as an individual. The able critic, Thomas Hancock, in a prize essay on causes for decline in the Society of Friends, wrote that

> in 1658 there was not a Quaker living who did not believe Quakerism to be the one and only true Church of the living God. In 1858 there is not a Quaker living who does believe it.[1]

Whatever may be the truth in this sharp generalization, Friends did cease to write of themselves as the true Church. Fox moved on the earth as a man among men. Human interest sketches of his life appear in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Bickley's study of George Fox and the Early Quakers (1884) portrays him as "a great social as well as a great religious reformer," and "the grandest specimen of what we may term the seventeenth century socialist."[2]

Fox became the object of psychological study. Brayshaw wrote on the Personality of George Fox (1919). Rufus M. Jones treats the psychological factors in a chapter in the Tercentenary collection of studies edited by Rendel Harris in 1925. Rachel Knight presented The Founder of Quakerism, A Psychological Study of the Mysticism of George Fox. These studies added much to Foxiana. They provide needed insights, but contributed only indirectly to an understanding of his concept of the Church.

---

[1] Thomas Hancock, The Peculium, etc., (London: 1859), p. 8.

[2] A.C. Bickley, George Fox and the Early Quakers (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1884), p. vii.

(4) Fox is considered as a leader in the stream of spiritual religion which flows through history. The finest expression of this treatment is found in the "Rowntree series," planned by John Wilhelm Rowntree as a work that would "adequately exhibit Quakerism as a great experiment in spiritual religion, and should be abreast of the requirements of modern research."[1]

The death of Rowntree threw the labor into the capable hands of William C. Braithwaite and Rufus M. Jones. The latter provided the historical context of Quakerism through his books on Studies in Mystical Religion and Spiritual Reformers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries; and he also treated Quakerism in its American and later phases. The former deals with the Beginnings and Second Period of the movement.[2]

Jones treats Quakerism from a philosophical point of view, just as the other twentieth century viewpoint is that of sociology. With his emphasis upon mysticism, Jones has linked Fox in spiritual kinship with Dionysius the Areopagite and the Cambridge Platonists--and innumerable points in between. While Jones is aware of Quakerism's relationship to the Commonwealth period, his emphasis is upon the converging of mystical ("consciousness that God was inwardly revealed") and prophetical (divine compulsion

---

[1]William C. Braithwaite, The Beginnings of Quakerism (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1912), pref., v.

[2]See the Bibliography for more complete data.

for the leader "to utter the will and purpose of God to his age") elements,--elements shielded from abuse by the moral earnestness of Puritanism.[1] Fox, then, is identified as the discoverer of mystical ideas floating about in the English air. He is, for Jones, the "organizer of a new type of mystical society that was admirably fitted to be the carrier and distributer of this accumulated stock of spiritual truth. . ."[2]

The "Inner Light" becomes the doctrinal core of Quaker thought. It is an inner light interpreted by early twentieth century optimistic thought, philosophically conceived by the interpreters, who are often forced to lament that even Penn and Barclay were crippled by supernaturalism from adequately explaining their living experiences.[3] Fox's experiences, then, interpreted through eyes fastened upon the great course of mysticism, have lifted Fox from his rather drab setting amid the fanaticism of seventeenth century England.

A. Neave Brayshaw has examined Fox from the standpoint of the light. Likewise Rachel King, in her provocative dissertation (Yale, 1939) published under the title, George Fox and the Light Within, 1650-60, finds in this

---

[1] In his "Introduction" to Braithwaite; Beginnings, xlii.

[2] Rufus M. Jones, Mysticism and Democracy in the English Commonwealth, Noble lectures, 1930-31 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1932), p. 141.

[3] A. Neave Brayshaw, The Quakers: their Story and Their Message (London: Allen & Unwin, Ltd. 1946), p. 52.

principle Fox's "ultimate authority for the individual and for the church."[1]

Rachel King considers that Fox perceives that the Light Within serves two purposes: to show a man evil and to bring unity. But her work does not treat the concept of the Church, particularly. Her theme is limited chronologically to 1650-1660; thus the Doctrinals are not used. In addition, she leaves the relationship between the Light as experienced and the Light Within as existent in Jesus unresolved in Fox's thought. This dilemna should be met if there is a distinctly Christian doctrine of the Church. Her words are a challenge to further study:

> Fox's central position can be held without reference to historical Christianity. His theory that the universal saving light within is the only teacher and authority is too general to be specifically Christian. There is no logical need for the incarnation and the passion in Fox's central religious conceptions. When Fox talks about Christ's dying for us and redeeming us, he is simply using inherited terminology without co-ordinating it with his other thought.[2]

Howard Brinton's recent book, Friends for 300 Years, (1952), follows this same general theme of treating Fox as a leader in spiritual religion, but with some important variations. He gives more credence to Quakerism as an emerging third form of Christianity, combining, with some healthful illogic, Grecian and Hebraic thought, Catholic and Protestant expression. His main theme is to show

---

[1]Rachel Hadley King, George Fox and the Light Within, 1650-60 (Philadelphia: Friends Book Store, 1940), p. 30.

[2]Ibid., p. 161.

Quakerism as a group mysticism which has as its central fact "the uniting power of the divine Spirit integrating the group as an organic whole."[1]

This book is a valuable contribution. It gives an appreciation for the prophetic element. It asserts a claim for Quakerism that boldly oversteps more cautious appraisals and harks back to primitive Quaker thought. That it does not conflict with the present study is shown by the fact that Brinton depends mainly on Fox's pastoral Epistles to portray Quakerism as felt, and Robert Barclay's Apology for Quakerism as thought about.[2] It would appear to the present writer that more research is needed in the thought and doctrine of Fox himself.

(5) Fox is considered in particular relation to Puritanism. In The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience, Geoffrey F. Nuttall attempts to present Quakerism within its actual spiritual climate rather than to dwell upon analogies which might be drawn with various mystics. In his study "early Quakerism is treated as of the first importance, because it indicates the direction of the Puritan movement as a whole."[3]

His very able treatise represents a departure from Jones' emphasis. His frame of reference is that of a

---

[1]Howard Brinton, Friends for 300 Years (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1952), Introduction, xiv. Also p. 55.

[2]Ibid, viii.

[3]Geoffrey F. Nuttall, The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1946), Foreward, viii.

Christian doctrine rather than a philosophical concept.

W.W. Beach treats Quakerism in relationship to authority in his meaningful dissertation, "The Meaning and Authority of Conscience in Protestant Thought of Seventeenth Century England" (Yale, 1944). Fox is treated as a participant in this struggle. George Arthur Johnson in his thesis, "From Seeker to Finder: a study in Seventeenth Century English Spiritualism before the Quakers", follows Nuttall is showing how the emphasis of the English "spirituals" differentiates them from the broad category of "mystics" into which Jones has placed them. Johnson attempts to show Fox as a leader in a "Finder" movement, not the finder of "Seekers", alone. The factors making for spiritual growth are those inherent within Puritanism, and not necessarily dependent upon sixteenth century precedents.[1]

While there have been references to the significance of Fox's concept of the Church in these writings mentioned above, and others similar, yet it has not generally been given a place of paramount importance. Rufus M. Jones alludes to this importance in scattered passages throughout his pertinent works. He has concluded that the Quakers "gave the unorganized and inarticulate movement" of the spiritual reformers "a concrete body and organism."[2] In a magazine

---

[1]George Arthur Johnson, "From Seeker to Finder: a Study in Seventeenth Century English Spiritualism Before the Quakers (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Chicago, 1948), p. 5.

[2]Rufus M. Jones, Spiritual Reformers in the 16th and 17th Centuries (London: Macmillan, 1914), pp. 337ff.

article these words appear: "In nothing did the early Friends differ more from their contemporary Christians than in their ideas about the Church."[1]

The bulky, and rather diffuse work by Barclay, in the last century, does treat Friends and other societies of the Commonwealth from the standpoint of church organization.[2] The monograph most nearly approaching the present study is Shideler's dissertation which treats of the Quaker concept of the Church. "To deny that the Quakers have a doctrine of the Church," he states, "because they reject the commonly accepted marks of the Church is to fall into the error they were most concerned to correct."[3] Fox shares with Howgil, Penington, Penn, and Rogers in Shideler's consideration of the early phase of the movement. The writer's chapters on authority, nature, marks, power, and organization of the Church reflect his central thesis that unity is the key that unlocks the door of understanding. This dissertation is a worthwhile contribution to literature on the Church-idea in radical Christian groups.[4]

---

[1]Rufus M. Jones, "The Quaker Conception of the Church", The American Friend (Vol, 25, May 30, 1918).

[2]Robert Barclay, The Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1876),

[3]Emerson W. Shideler, "An Experiment in Spiritual Ecclesiology" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Chicago, 1948), p. 2.

[4]Franklin H. Littell, Anabaptist View of the Church (ASCH, 1952) gives a comparable treatment in that field.

This review of the literature has shown that despite the varied treatments of Fox there remains much to be done to recover a more complete picture of the contribution of this spiritual leader. It is hoped that this present study will be a part of this process.[1]

The Sources

For the writings of Fox use is made of the 1831 edition of the Works, with reference to critical helps, and with the exception of the first two volumes, constituting the Journal in the Ellwood edition, for which the new, revised edition of the Journal, edited by John Nickalls (1952) will be substituted. Where Nickalls has abbreviated a doctrinal passage (as he has in numerous places) the 1831 edition will be used.

Actually, the critical problem is not great. At his death in January, 1690/91, Fox left a will desiring that his printed works be collected. This task was carried out to the extent of the Journal, edited (with some polishing but nevertheless with great ability) by Ellwood in 1694; the Epistles, 1698; and the Doctrinals, 1706. During this time an Annual Catalogue, for identifying and listing all the documents, was prepared. Henry J. Cad-

---

[1]For a concise sketch of Quaker historiography see Frederick B. Tolles, "1652 in History," The Bulletin of the Friends Historical Assoc'n (Vol. 41, Spring 1952).

bury has exhumed it, after it had lain virtually unused for two centuries, and edited it with special reference to pieces not included in the collections.[1] The 1831 Philadelphia edition is composed of re-prints of these Epistles and Doctrinals, the oft-reprinted Journal, and in one volume The Mystery of the Great Whore, etc. (1659) and the briefer but significant Saul's Errand to Damascus (1654).

The various uncollected documents have not been used in this study. The collected Works, the main body of writings, provide adequate source material. Indeed, the fact that, except for the Journal, the Works have not been republished in England since 1706, and in America only during the doctrinal divisions, 1831, reflects not only a style of writing uninviting to the modern taste but also a lack of appreciation for Fox as a doctrinal teacher.

In addition to these sources and materials mentioned, there will be some reference to the writings of Fox's contemporaries, friendly and unfriendly.[2]

---

[1]Annual Catalogue of George Fox's Papers, compiled in 1694-1697, edited with omissions and additions, by Henry J. Cadbury (Philadelphia: Friends Book Store, 1939.

[2]Standard bibliographies for these are Joseph Smith's Descriptive Catalogue of Friends Books (London: 1867) and his Bibliotheca Anti-Quakeriana (London: 1873). Of value, also, is the Preface to the Journal of George Fox, edited by John L. Nickalls (Cambridge: University Press, 1952) and the Epilogue "George Fox's Later Years," written by Henry J. Cadbury.

Definitions and limitations

The Church is considered as the Christian community, the corporate expression of Christian religion. The term is used, in this study, in both the visible and invisible connotations. The attempt is to find Fox's view of the Church and not necessarily a normative New Testament or early Church view. The term is here used more in the sense of ekklesia-- an assembly of persons gathered in the name of Jesus, rather than in the sense of kuriakon-- the Lord's house. This study will not elaborate on the details of organization and history beyond that deemed necessary to show the general principles of the Church idea.[1]

Using the ordinary methods of historical research and investigation the writer will attempt first to relate Fox to the search for authority going on in the seventeenth century. Then will follow investigation of Fox's concept of the Church in apostasy, the Church gathered out of the world, the Church in the world, the Church in history and a conclusion.

---

[1]Arnold Lloyd, Quaker Social History, 1669-1738 (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1950) is excellent for such an elaboration.

CHAPTER II

GEORGE FOX AND THE LARGER SEARCH FOR THE CHURCH

The Quest for Authority

Seventeenth century England was the scene of a revolution which had begun the century before in a vestment controversy and had burst out upon all phases of life--religious, political, and social. From one standpoint it does present "the rise, eclipse, and resurrection of Anglicanism."[1] But this is only a partial story. For when the storms of controversy subsided a new concept of authority assumed its place in the realms of State and Church. Puritanism may have been defeated as a party, suggests one historian; but it was victorious as a social, cultural movement: it was the royal line which was restored in 1660-89, and not the royal power.[2]

Gwatkin has shown that out of the chaos of the Long Parliament four movements arose. The first two, Latitudinarianism and natural religion involved a relaxing, or simplification of doctrine; while the second two, the Cambridge

---

[1] J.W.C. Wand, A History of the Modern Church (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1949), p. 120.

[2] Winthrop S. Hudson, "Mystical Religion in the Puritan Commonwealth", Journal of Religion (Vol. 28, January-October, 1948), p. 51.

Platonists and the Quakers appealed to inward authority--the Platonists starting from reason and going to Spirit, and the Quakers starting from the Spirit which quickens human intuition.[1]

Beach declares that the seventeenth century saw the most honest and thoroughgoing attempt to arrive at the Protestant persuasion on the matter of mediate authority. For while all parties agreed to the sole Lordship of God over the conscience, and there was general unanimity in accepting the authority of the Bible as a sufficient guide for faith and practice, yet within this framework there were fundamental differences in Anglicanism, Presbyterian-Puritanism, and Sectarianism which relate to the matter of mediate authority. All parties agreed in rejecting the pope.

The Anglican aim, as propounded by Laud, was that of religious unity, with the bishops ruling the whole church. "Unity of outward worship was the idol of Laud," writes Gardiner.[3] Uniformity of practice could allow some variety of doctrinal expression. The system was monarchical. Laud shuddered before the impetuous assertion that Parliament, a lay assembly, could grasp such power and authority over reli-

---

[1]Henry Melvill Gwatkin, Church and State in England to the Death of Queen Anne (London: Longmans, 1917),p. 340ff.

[2]Waldo Beach, "Freedom and Authority in Protestant Ethics," Journal of Religion (Vol. 32, April,1952)p. 112ff.

[3]S.R. Gardiner, The First Two Stuarts and the Puritan Revolution, 1603-1660 (Ninth ed.; London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1890), p. 89.

gion into their hands, a power "which hath not been thus assumed since Christ"[1]

The outward authority for Anglicanism, then, is to be found in a sacramental Church, whose tradition presumed to guarantee the purity of received Christianity. The close association of the Stuarts and the Church served to inflame the Parliamentary party and the ones who would purify the religion, so that politics and religion were well mixed. While Laud aimed for unity, it has been well said that "too little account was taken of the passion with which men. . . will press their beliefs."[2] Both Laud and Charles I were swept under in a revolution which ushered in the Commonwealth where different ideas and beliefs made assertions of authority and of unity.

If the outward authority for Anglicanism was quite well fixed in a sacramental Church, the "mediate authority" (to use Beach's term) was less definite. It is thus described:

> The seat of authority for Anglicanism. . . is more of a bench than a chair. It is broad enough to include Reason, Natural Law, "church tradition," as well as Scripture, in somewhat ambiguous and overlapping fashion.[3]

Puritanism under the Stuarts, as Troeltsch has noted, "became a real religious awakening, a demand for a second Reformation, in which reform in doctrine should be followed

---

[1]Cited in Paul Elmer More and Frank Leslie Cross, Anglicanism (London: SPCK, 1935), No. 326.

[2]T.A. Lacey, The Unity of the Church (London: SPCK, 1898), p. 73.

[3]Beach, "Authority", Journal of Religion (Vol. 32), p. 113.

by reform in life, and which desired to realize personal spirituality and holiness as the true essence of Christianity."[1]

With a dual emphasis of doctrine and experience, Puritanism looked for authority at once individually authenticating and universally binding. This they found in the conversion process of the elect and in heavy reliance upon the Scriptures as the Word of God. Haller states that

> The key to Calvinistic reasoning was that the Bible gave a rule to be followed in church and state as in all other affairs in life. . . . The theory was that truth in scripture when brought to bear upon conscience by the force of reason would lead men to early agreement unless they chose wilfully and maliciously to resist the light.[2]

For the seventy years of its exile -- from Thomas Cartwright's expulsion from Cambridge in 1570 to the Westminister Assembly-- Puritanism plied England with a mass of pamphlets which awakened individual hopes for purity and for freedom. The spiritual preachers, the journal writers, and the pamphleteers proclaimed the Puritan epic of "wayfaring and warfaring."[3] Preaching played a large part in the Puritan concept of the Church, for in the sermon the Scripture was given forth as the rule for knowing the voice in the conscience. Knappen has shown that the

---

[1]Ernst Troeltsch, The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches, translated by Olive Wyon (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1950 impression of 1931 pub.), II, 678.

[2]William Haller, The Rise of Puritanism (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938), p. 14.

[3]Ibid., p. 143.

concept of the Church was held high in the minds of the Puritan parties preceeding the Stuart period. He writes:

> In Puritan theory the chief human agency of sanctification was the church. It supplied the means of grace--preaching, fasts, and sacraments--and set the standard of moral discipline. The concept of the church therefore became the determining one for social and economic polity. . . . to most Puritans, even the Independents, the church meant an established, endowed institution. They were reformers, not revolutionists. . .[1]

Puritanism was the catchpool of earlier English and continental reform movements. Calvin's shadow looms large, but so does that of Luther, through the Anabaptists. And within Puritanism various forms appeared-- Anglican, Presbyterian, Independent-- but the quest for authority ranged the parties according to their emphasis upon either the Word of Scriptures or the Word of experience.

The sectarian spirit, or better, that of radical Puritanism[2] gave varying degrees of emphasis upon the inward authentication by the Spirit. The "Inner Word" interprets the "Written Word." Beach asserts that the thinking of sectarianism "always remained within the framework of the authority of the Bible, but within that framework the authority of the 'Spirit' became more and more important."[3]

---

[1]M.M. Knappen, Tudor Puritanism: A Chapter in the History of Idealism (Chicago: University Press, 1939), p. 401.

[2]I think Troeltsch's labelling of the three forms of Christian community as Church, sect, and mysticism unfortunately prejudicial.

[3]Waldo Beach, "The Meaning and Authority of Conscience in Protestant Thought of the Seventeenth Century England" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Yale, 1944), p. 90.

The radicals were mostly agreed that no one, Church hierarchy or State, could hand down religious certainty. Haller sums it up this way: "common men in turning to the sects did not so much feel that they were abandoning the church as that the church had abandoned them to a doom from which, if they were to be saved at all, they must save themselves."[1]

During the Commonwealth period men sought to save themselves. Anglicanism and monarcy were ousted and Puritanism attempted to impose a Presbyterian structure upon the English people. Under Cromwell a virtually established Independency arose under the agitation seething in the Army. Both liberty and unity were sought but they seemed to prove mutually exclusive upon the basis of an authority which would preserve the Church. So the Quakers knew the bitterness of persecution under one who came as a champion of liberty. Popery, Prelacy, and Licentiousness were considered too dangerous to handle under the banner of tolerance. Secularization of interests eventually settled the principle of tolerance where a uniting principle of Church authority had not.

The years of the Commonwealth and the Restoration are those of the ministry of George Fox. The Quakers form one of the many movements political and spiritual which were flourishing in this century. The "tumultuous years" of the Commonwealth are considered to constitute:

---

[1]Haller, Rise of Puritanism, p. 260.

> . . . one of the great creative periods in the history of the West. To the extent that the modern world has been the reflection of a dominant Anglo-Saxon culture, these two decades may almost be said to have produced the modern world.[1]

The radical reformers, among whom Fox is numbered, were not simply running Calvinism's individualism out to the ragged edge. And despite the fact that many of the waves of popular revolution "were destined to run out upon the flats of sectarianism sunned by commercial prosperity,"[2] yet radical Puritanism was looking for the city with foundations, whose builder and maker is God. In their search for authority through the Inward Word they were also hunting for the Church. It will be well, then, to place Fox within the context of that search.

"Lo Here, Lo There!" Movements Influencing Fox

George Fox was born in July, 1624 at what is now Fenny Drayton, in Leicestershire. His parents were godly Puritans who had a tender regard for the religious needs of their son, George. The father was a weaver whose religious integrity earned for him nickname, "Righteous Christer." His mother was an upright woman from the Lago family, and of the "stock of martyrs"(which no doubt refers to the reign of Mary, 1555). George attended the parish church with his parents until his nineteenth year, when unrest

---

[1]Hudson, "Mystical Religion", Journal of Religion (Vol. 28), p. 51.

[2]Haller, Rise of Puritanism, p. 272.

drew him away. "When I came to eleven years of age, I knew pureness and righteousness; for while Iwas a child I was taught how to walk to be kept pure," Fox writes in his Journal, as he describes his own spiritual pilgrimage.[1] During his teens, George worked as a shoemaker and as a grazier and dealer in wool. On Sundays he sat under the ministry of Nathaniel Stephens, an Oxford graduate, a Presbyterian of some convictions,[2] whom Fox calls "priest" and by whom Fox felt betrayed when he sought spiritual help. And when Fox records that "the Lord opened unto me that being bred at Oxford or Cambridge was not enough to fit and qualify men to be ministers of Christ" "Priest" Stephens is the number one exhibit![3]

But Fox has a debt to this parish church. It was that which nourished him in his childhood. His parents represented the best of its spirituality. The Bible was the treasure it gave to him, a treasure upon which he would rely and into the thought-forms of which he would cast his thoughts and actions. Moderate Puritanism was rejected for emptiness and for its formalism, but much of the content was to remain.

---

[1]The Journal of George Fox, Revised edition by John L. Nickalls (Cambridge: University Press, 1952), p. 1. Chap. I provides the data for this summary.

[2]Braithwaite, Beginnings of Quakerism, pp. 31-32, informs that Stephens was ejected for nonconformity, 1662. He was a stanch defender of tithes and infant baptism, a thorough Calvinist and great in apocalyptic literature.

[3]The Journal, p. 7. 1646 is the year.

For a period of four years young George became a sort of seeker. He would not go to hear the "priest". Instead, he took his Bible out into the orchard or the fields. He was a stranger even to the Dissenting people. His experiences with ministers to whom he had turned for spiritual guidance were disappointing. Marriage, blood-letting, tobacco and psalms were dry husks to the hungry soul. His physical and spiritual wanderings drew him into contact with various groups, and especially with the Baptists, among whom was his uncle Pickering with whom he stayed for a time in London. He records that the Baptists "were tender then"; but even so the city seemed to him to be under "the chain of darkness"--a darkness which seemed to come not so much from the period of political unrest of the Civil War as from his inability to receive real spiritual help from the spiritual leaders of London.[1]

His great experience of Christ has been often quoted. But it bears repeating in connection with his search for the Church because it indicates his dissillusion with the Church (outward) as a means of grace.

> But as I had forsaken all the priests, so I left the separate preachers also, and those called the most experienced people; for I saw there was none among them all that could speak to my condition. And when all my hopes in them and in all men were gone, so that I had nothing outwardly to help me, nor could tell what to do, then, Oh then, I heard a voice which said, 'There is one, even Christ Jesus, that can speak to thy condition,' and when I heard it my

---

[1] Ibid., p. 14; 1646.

,10

> heart did leap for joy. Then the Lord let me see why there was none upon the earth that could speak to my condition, namely, that I might give him all the glory; for all are concluded under sin, and shut up in unbelief as I had been, that Jesus Christ might have the pre-eminence, who enlightens, and gives grace, and faith, and power. Thus when God doth work who shall let it? And this I knew experimentally.[1]

Fox found the assurance of salvation. He was no longer afraid of hypocrisy or unbelief. Gone was the darkness of his own soul. That righteousness which he had been seeking came only as he turned from the counsels of men to the seeking Christ. Here was the key that unlocked his bonds. In the inevitable temptations which assailed him during the following months he sensed the leadership of Christ. The boy whose parents wanted him to be a minister was now a man with a message. In the town of Mansfield the sight of the steeplehouse gave him a vision that people were trampling upon the life, the blood of the Son of God, which blood was now his life, and the call came that"that which people do trample upon must be thy food."[2]

He felt within him the sinfulness of humanity, but saw that victory must be had over that ocean of darkness. The real personal spiritual travail appears to have concluded by the year 1648, so that he can exult in a paean replete with Biblical imagery, and suggestive of a state much more steadfast than that which Parliament was wresting

---

[1] Ibid., p. 11; 1647. Italics mine. Jones' statement "he never appears to have undergone any travail over his own sins", Intro. Braithwaite, Beginnings, xxxii, is inaccurate, I think. Cf. Troeltsch, Social Teaching, II, 680.

[2] Ibid., p. 19; 1647.

from King Charles:

> Now was I come up in spirit through the flaming sword into the paradise of God. All things were new, and all the creation gave another smell unto me than before, beyond what words can utter. I knew nothing but pureness, and innocency, and righteousness, being renewed up into the image of God by Christ Jesus, so that I say I was come up to the state of Adam which he was in before he fell. The creation was opened to me, and it was showed me how all things had their names given them according to their nature and virtue. And I was at a stand in my mind whether I should practise physic for the good of mankind, seeing the nature and virtues of the creatures were so opened to me by the Lord. But I was immediately taken up in spirit, to see into another or more steadfast state than Adam's in innocency, even into a state in Christ Jesus, that should never fall. And the Lord showed me that such as were faithful to him in the power and light of Christ, should come up into that state in which Adam was before he fell. . .[1]

This "flaming sword" vision contains the germ of his concept of the Church of the restoration. At twenty-three years of age George Fox faced his task, and four years later, at Pendle Hill, he saw a "great people to be gathered" to the Lord.[2] Fox was in a sense "prepared," and so were the people with whom and to whom he preached. A question of considerable interest concerns the relationship of Fox to, and his dependence upon, the ideas current among the many movements in that crucial decade of the forties. By the time of the Pendle Hill vision, "with Episcopacy dethroned and Presbyterianism neither popular nor established in any effective sense, the force of institutional religion was at its lowest point," and "with respect to the Church as with respect to the monarchy the old order was gone, but nothing stable had taken its

---

[1] Ibid., p. 27; 1648. Ibid., pp. 103-104; 1652

place.[1]

Fox cried out amid a clamor of voices calling "Lo here!" However one views him, whether as a prophet to whom God granted untaught knowledge through direct revelations, or as a synthetizer of homologous religious groups, or, indeed, as a plagiarist who took up other men's labors and stamped them with his own image, it is nevertheless important to appreciate something of the concept of the Church held by the radicals of Commonwealth England.

1. Baptist groups. The early contacts of Fox with Baptist groups are numerous. His uncle Pickering in London, though not able to receive the unburdening of the troubled young soul (no man was able, only Christ), yet must have been as sympathetic as any Fox could find. Early in his ministry, before perceiving the Seeker community from Pendle Hill, Fox spoke among Baptist groups and made converts among them. Elizabeth Hooton was "very tender" toward him before his experience of 1647. She was probably a Baptist preacher, who later embraced the new movement under Fox's leadership.[2] The following year he found "a company of shattered Baptists, and others; and the Lord's power wrought mightily and gathered many of them."[3] Fox formed a company of "Children of the Light." Braithwaite

---

[1] Braithwaite, Beginnings of Quakerism, p. 16.

[2] Ibid., pp. 43,44.

[3] The Journal, p. 25; 1648. See the Bibliography for explanation of the abbreviations for Fox's writings.

writes of the importance of these contacts:

> It becomes clear that Fox, at the outset of his mission, found material ready to his hand in the broken Baptist community, and, in the most formative and plastic period of his life, impressed his influence on its members, and, in turn, was no doubt himself impressed by the Baptist point of view in matters of church-life. We have discovered the channel along which many of the Baptist influences which affected Quakerism probably came.[1]

Tallack, in the middle of the last century, wrote that Friends were the continuators of the General Baptists.[2] Robert Barclay, a little later, pointed out that "a very large number of the Baptists' meetings. . . [were] thrown open to Fox and the early preachers of the Society of Friends," and that the relationship was more friendly at the beginning of Quakerism than later when some Baptists and Independents began to take State maintenance.[3]

The General Baptists emphasized lay preaching, free will, the need for the Spirit to know Scripture rightly, and, with some uncertainty, the unlawfullness of oaths for the Christian.[4] John Smyth, the self-baptizer, who later reversed himself and sought admission with the Mennonites, believed that "the outward Church visible consists of penitent persons only. . . and is a

---

[1]Braithwaite, Beginnings of Quakerism, p. 45.

[2]William Tallack, George Fox, the Friends, and Early Baptists (London: 1868), p. 87; see also p. 66ff.

[3]Robert Barclay, The Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1876), pp. 295ff. See also Lloyd, Quaker Social History, p. 80.

[4]Ibid.

mystical figure of the true, spiritual, invisible Church."[1]

Thomas Helwys, baptized at the hands of Smyth, started the first General Baptist Church in London in 1612.[2] One feature of Baptist emphasis was that the realms of nature and grace must be kept apart. Helwys petitioned the king in a way that shows this clearly: "Our Lord the King hath power to take our sonnes and our daughters to do all his services of war, and of peace," he writes in one section, and continues, "but the King has no power to make Bishops "to be lords in the Kingdome of Christ."[3]

Rufus M. Jones finds the Baptists to be precursers to Fox, "the ringing champions of a free conscience, a free ministry, a spiritual Church and a pure daily life."[4]

The first division among the new Children of Light came about by the leadership of Rice Jones, a Baptist converted to the new leader, Fox, and then estranged from him.[5] This early quarrel presaged many differences between Fox and the Baptists, but for all that Fox was closely connected with these groups. There is a note of family feuding about it all, despite major differences over baptism.

---

[1]Cited in Barclay, Societies of the Commonwealth, p. xi. of the Appendix to Chap. VI.

[2]See Rufus M. Jones, Studies in Mystical Religion, (London: Macmillan, 1923), Chap. xvii on Anabaptism.

[3]Thomas Helwys, The Mistery of Iniquity (London: Bapt. Hist. Soc. reprbduction of 1612 copy, 1935), pp. 40,49.

[4]Jones, Mystical Religion, p. 427.

2. The Mystic groups. Rufus M. Jones has labored patiently over the years to show the heritage of mysticism which came down to the seventeenth century, coloring the speech and flavoring the thought of Quakers and allied movements. In Jacob Boehme's "Way of Salvation" Jones finds the highest expression of that emphasis upon the "native divine possibilities of the soul" in direct line with the central ideas of Denck, Bünderlin, Entfelder, Franck, Schwenckfeld, and Weigel."[1]

With his emphasis upon the new birth and upon the Person of Christ even greater than that of Schwenckfeld, Boehme adds the weight of his profound personal experience and deep insight, thinks Jones, who comments admiringly:

> He has given, I think, as profound and as simple, and at the same time as vital an interpretation of salvation through Christ as the Reformation movement produced before the nineteenth century.[2]

Concerning Boehme's view of the Church, Jones writes:

> Like his German predecessor, Sebastian Franck, he is primarily concerned with the invisible Church, and he holds lightly to the empirical Church as he knows it. The Church to which his spirit is dedicated is the organic Life-Tree of which Christ is the living Stem.[3]

Boehme, the shoe-maker and mystic, died the year Fox was born. And the first appearance in English of any of Boehme's writings was in 1645.[4] Jones has drawn cer-

---

[1]Jones, Spiritual Religion, p. 190.

[2]Ibid., p. 191. [3]Ibid., pp. 191-200.

[4]Ibid., p. 208. See chapter xii, "Influence in England."

tain parallels between the two men. These include the idea of return to Paradise; the "flaming sword" and "new smell" of spiritual openings; "hidden Unity in the Eternal Being"; the usage of the figures of Cain and Esau, Korah and Balaam, in illustrating the condition of the Church; the understanding of Scriptures only by the same Spirit, the "two seeds; reference to "stone churches"; and the elaboration of the principles of Light and Darkness. Jones believes this evidence is sufficient "to show that this spiritual leader in England was distinctly a debtor to the Teutonic seer. . ."[1]

There were Behmenist groups in England, against whom Quaker pamphleteers wrote, mainly on the grounds of their continuance with sacraments, thinks Jones.[2] But Nuttall believes such an argument to be weak. In fact, he rejects the claim for the influence of Boehme upon the Quakers as specious. "To any one who reads Boehme's and Fox's writings consecutively and comparatively," he writes, "the utter difference between their respective spiritual climates is soon apparent, and not least precisely in this, that in Fox's sense Boehme has no Christian doctrine of the Holy Spirit."[3]

---

[1] Ibid., pp. 222-227. [2] Ibid., p. 232.

[3] Nuttall, Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith, p. 17. He believes that the phrase "flaming sword" proves that Fox read Genesis iii. 24, not Boehme. See p. 16, note 13. Nuttall likewise rejects Quaker affinity with the Platonists, p. 18, whom Jones admits touched Fox not at all, but wishes that they had! See Mysticism and Democracy, p. 136.

The "Familists" or "Family of Love" stemmed from from the mystic of Westphalia, Henry Nicholas (or Niclaes). Jones considers it significant that Fox owned one of the few copies of Nicholas' Spiegel der Gerechtigkeit.[1] But Fox could not read German. At any rate, during the time of Fox, the Familists were much like the Seekers in their rejection of the existing Church. They stood "unflinchingly for holiness of life and for the perfection of human nature here on earth."[2]

Jones considers this much-vilified group to have been synchronous with the rise of Anabaptism, but independent of it. Nicholas considered his sect to be the only true church.[3] An elaborate triple priesthood and other officers in the lower echelons, together with elaborate ceremonies "fitted in badly with the mystical aspects of the movement",--and with the democratic tenor of most radical movements in England.[4]

Other individual mystics show that the deposit came to seventeenth century England from various sources, however diffuse the trails that led into Puritanism. Fox

---

[1]Jones, Mysticism and Democracy, p. 125. See also John L. Nickalls, "George Fox's Library", Journal of Friends Historical Society (Vol. xxviii, 1931). Fox also possessed Sebastian Franck's Forbidden Fruit, 1640 and Tyndale's Obedyence of a Christen Man. . ., among others.

[2]Ibid., p. 127.

[3]Evangelium regni, chap. xxxiv, cited by Jones, Mystical Religion, p. 439; see also Jones' chap. xviii.

[4]Jones, Mysticism and Democracy, p. 129.

received this mystical emphasis through a radical Puritanism which sought the spiritual nature of the community of believers. Mysticism was part of the larger search for the Church. In Puritanism it was fused with Evangelicalism. It is Biblical mysticism ; and therein may lie the clue rather than in a definite historical succession of mystical ideas. Troeltsch's appraisal of the place of the Quakers is significant:

> All that remained of the mystical upheaval was "the Children of the Light" or the "Society of Friends". . . . . In the final form of their doctrine they are the direct descendents of the spirituality of the Reformation period. . . . In reality the Society of Friends represents the union of this mystical doctrine [the presence of the Divine Light] with the Baptist ideal of the pure and holy voluntary community, based on genuine conversion and freedom from State control.[1]

Mysticism was perhaps a more powerful leaven as it worked among individuals not necessarily associated with mystical communities. The movements described below will show the mingling of mystical thought with Biblical Evangelicalism.

3. The Seekers. By 1652 such groups could be discovered in Yorkshire, the Lake district of Westmoreland and Lancashire, in the western counties, and in the heart of London. They "held the view that the true apostolic succession is revealed only when the members of the Church. . . exhibit in their lives the transformed nature and the dynamic qualities which characterized the

---

[1]Troeltsch, Social Teaching, II, 780.

original Apostles."[1]

The most marked characteristic, continues Jones, was the Seeker's "disillusinoment over the authority and power of the visible Church."[2]

The Seekers were really a cross-section, and not a definite religious body. Penn lists the Familists among them; perhaps some Familists were "shattered" like the Baptist groups, and were awaiting a prophetic word.[3] It is evident that the Seekers flocked to follow Fox, and that the year 1652 is recognized as the birthday of the Quaker movement because of the communities gathered in that year, beginning with a "mighty meeting" at Justice Benson's place, near Sedbergh. Fox relates that these were the "people coming forth in white raiment" which he saw in a vision the night after his Pendle Hill vision of a people "to be gathered."[4]

A sympathetic account of the Seekers says that

> they behave themselves as persons who have neither the power nor the gift to go before one another by way of eminency or authority, but as sheep unfolded, and as soldiers unrallied, waiting for a time of gathering.[5]

---

[1]Jones, Mysticism and Democracy, p. 58.

[2]Ibid., p. 65.

[3]William Penn, Rise and Progress of the People Called Quakers (Philadelphia ed., 1838), p. 18.

[4]The Journal, pp. 104-106; 1652. Braithwaite, Beginnings of Quakerism, chap. IV, has a good discussion of the Westmorland Seekers.

[5]John Jackson, A Sober Word to a Serious People (London, 1651), cited by Jones, Mystical Religion, p. 461.

John Saltmarsh writes that the Seekers do not find the Church now visibly clothed with the gifts of the Spirit:

> Now in the time of apostacy of the churches, they find no such gifts, and so they dare not meddle with any outward administrations, dare not preach, baptize, or teach: they find in the churches nothing but outward ceremony. . . . They wait for a restoration of all things and a setting up of "Gospel Officers," "Gospel Churches," "Gospel Ordinances," according to the pattern in the New Testament. They wait for an apostle or some one with a visible glory and power able in the spirit to give visible demonstration of being sent.[1]

Both the attitude of expectancy in regard to a new birth of the true Church and the response of the Seekers to the ministry of George Fox among them indicate the importance of the concept of the Church and its fulfillment in a measure connected with the leadership and message of young Fox.

4. The Ranters. If Quakerism represented to the Seekers a turn in the direction of corporate unity, Ranterism represented an abandonment of the dreams of many for the coming of the New Day, and an entrance into the intoxicating enclosure of individualism. Penn describes the Ranters as running out "in their own imaginations, and mixing them with those divine openings. . . a scandal of those that feared God and waited daily in the temple not made with hands."[2]

The Seekers had a model in the New Testament

---

[1]Condensed from Saltmarsh's Sparkles of Glory (London: 1648)pp. 214-21, by Jones, Mystical Religion, pp. 455-56.

[2]Penn, Rise and Progress, p. 19.

Church and a discipline in the hope of its restoration, but the Ranters had no past model nor a future hope. Penn charges their extravagance to interpreting Christ's "fulfilling of the law for us, to be a discharging of us from any obligation and duty the law required. . . and that now it was no sin to do that which before it was a sin to commit."[1] He calls this "a securer way of sinning than before: as if Christ came not to take away sin, but that we might sin more freely at his cost. . ."[2]

Schofield has recently gathered together much source material on the Ranters. He pronounces the verdict "Pantheistic-Antinomian" upon them. He notes the disappearance of Ranterism with the Restoration and states that "without question, many of the Ranters joined the Quakers, a group with similar ideas but with unquestioned moral emphasis."[3]

Although many Ranters did become convinced Friends,[4] early Friends resented being equated with them.[5] They had every reason to. Fox bore the sting of the Blasphemy Act of 1648 which was directed against the Ranters, being thrown into the Derby prison early in his ministry because he was considered subversive: Fox testified that he

---

[1]Ibid. [2]Ibid., p. 20.

[3]Russell G. Schofield, "The Ranters of Seventeenth Century England" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard, 1949), p. 188.

[4]The Journal, p. 80; 1652; and p. 621; 1672, shows a twenty year spread of convincements among this group.

[5]Ibid., p. 526; 1668.

22

was sanctified.[1] There is understandable warmth in Fox's words to one Ranter leader, in a dispute shortly after release from prison, "Repent, thou beast", and more than a handy phrase in his castigation of them along with the Sodomites of the Old Testament.[2]

It is hardly fair to say that the Ranters and the Quakers had similar ideas and differed only on moral issues. Similar ideas and concepts tend to produce similar results. Nevertheless, in the struggle over individualism and corporate authority which was to ensue in the movement of Fox certain refined vestiges of Ranterism play a prominent part.[3] Ranterism challenged the very idea of a Church.

5. The Fifth-Monarchy men. Gardiner labels them as enthusiasts who "called for nothing less than an entire abolition of the existing law, and a substitution of a simple code based on the law of Moses."[4]

Braithwaite, with more of an eye to religious motivation, calls them "the political zealots of Puritanism."[5]

---

[1] The Journal, p. 51; 1650. The Blasphemy Act provided "six months' imprisonment for the first offense, banishment with prohibition of return on pain of death for the second, and that in two cases only:--the affirming that any human person was God or a manifestation of God, and the affirming that acts of gross immorality were indifferent, or even positively religious." See Gardiner, Stuarts and the Revolution, I, 395.

[2] The Journal, p. 81; 1651.

[3] See Chapter V.

[4] S.R. Gardiner, History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, 1649-60 (2nd ed. London: Longmans, 1897), II,265.

These extremists coupled an apocalypticism based on Daniel and Revelation with a popular English sentiment that all English institutions derived from William the Conqueror were false: they were the little horn of Daniel's prophecy. The four kingdoms predicted in Daniel 2 (considered to be Assyria, Medeo-Persia, Greece, and Rome)[1] were now at an end,--witness co-termination of monarchy derived from Rome both on the Continent, in the blow given the Papacy by the Peace of Westphalia (1648), and within their own borders in the less subtle blow which severed Charles' head from his body (1649). The London rising, early in 1661, shows the frustration of their hopes for the Fifth monarchy--the monarchy of Christ, in the return of what seemed, no doubt, a quite non-Christly kingdom. All this after the year 1656 had passed without the looked-for personal return of Christ.[2]

The influence of Fifth-Monarchy thinking was much greater than this rising. Barclay warns that it must not be identified only "with the opinions of the few crazy enthusiasts called "Fifth Monarchy Men'," but that "the idea of. . . the coming of Christ to reign personally on earth was far more widely spread at the close of the Commonwealth than is generally supposed; there was not a

---

[1]Matthew Henry's Commentary (Re-print; New York: Revell, n.d), Vol. IV, gives a traditional interpretation of the meaning of Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the statue with head of gold, breast and arms of silver, belly and thighs of brass, and legs and feet of iron and clay.

[2]See The Journal, p. 261; 1656.

denomination in which the idea did not exist."[1]

Such thinking was prominent among the Baptists. It was a powerful influence in the Commonwealth. The Nominated ("Praise-God Barebone") Parliament of 1653 was marked by such feeling. It was the idealism of the Baptists and the Fifth-Monarchy adherents that kept the Civil War issues burning when for others it had lost its flaming idealism.[2]

The basic significance of this thinking is that men were groping for a philosophy of history whereby Christianity would be supreme in the world and Jesus Christ would be supreme in the Church. It is not idle fanaticism. It has roots back in Christian history and in the Bible. It is a quest for the Church in history in a time when the degree of secularization present in the twentieth century did not obtain. "King Jesus" did carry political implications when men were not content to let the world revert to paganism. And if some of the more impatient resorted to force for the entry of the King they no more represented the whole of such thinking than the Muntzer revolutionaries represented the whole of Anabaptist ideology.[3]

---

[1]Barclay, Societies of the Commonwealth, pp. 182n and 486n.

[2]Louise Fargo Brown, The Political Activities of the Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men In England During the Interregnum (Washington: Amer. Hist. Ass'n, 1912), p. 13.

[3]Cf. Littell, Anabaptist View of the Church, p. 25.

That George Fox discarded the methods and much of the message of the Fifth-Monarchists is true; but the common eschatological framework cannot for that reason be discarded.[1]

6. The Leveller groups. The Levellers, Diggers, and allied groups represent an increased spiritualization of the vision of Christ, the King. They also show an interest in making the present world take on more of the hue of heaven. Government must do much of the Kingdom work. The Levellers desired "direct government by a democratic Parliament and the fullest development of individual liberty."[2]

Schenk believes that these men were disillusioned by the inability of Presbyterians and Erastians to cope with the crises of Parliament against the King, and that they turned for spiritual motivation to the sectarian idea of the Church. "It was the alliance of the civilian radicals with the Agitators (of the Army)", he writes, "that produced the party of the Levellers."[3]

The famous Putney debates of 1647 represent the high point of the movement, which was stamped out in 1649. Lilburne, one of the leaders imprisoned by Cromwell, became "convinced" and joined Friends, disclaiming, then, all "carnal sword-fightings, and fleshly bustlings."[4]

---

[1]See discussion infra, Chap. VI.

[2]Gardiner, Commonwealth and Protectorate, I, 33.

[3]W. Schenk, The Concern for Social Justice in the Puritan Revolution (London: Longmans, Green, 1948), p. 15.

[4]Sewel, History of the Quakers, I, 166-68.

In considering Fox's concept of the Church it is not without significance that Lilburne found in Quakerism the end of a spiritual journey.

The Diggers sought true freedom "where a man receives his nourishment and preservation. . . in the use of the Earth,"[1] in the words of Gerrard Winstanley, whose recent editor, George H. Sabine, has written that "Leveller democracy and Winstanley's utopian socialism are companion pieces, representing. . . the earliest examples of these two rival types of modern revolutionary radicalism."[2]

Sabine has drawn such close parallels between Fox and Winstanley that they bear scrutiny. Having discoursed upon similar experiences and practices of the two men, viz., refusal to doff the hat, he claims that

> the substantial difference between the two men lay not at all in their religious ideas, but in Fox's absorption in his mission and his apparent indifference to the public questions that in 1649 were shaking the foundations of English Society.[3]

According to Sabine, Winstanley (along with other mystics: Dell, Saltmarsh, Fox) represents a clear cleavage away from "Calvinists and nearly all Baptists who thought it essential to maintain a creed, a church dis-

---

[1]Winstanley, Works, with Appendix of Documents relating to the Digger movement, edited with Introduction by George H. Sabine (New York: Cornell Univ., 1941), p. 519. It is a passage from his "Law of Freedom."

[2]Ibid., Introduction, p. 2.

[3]Ibid., p. 34. On April 1 of this first year of the Commonwealth Winstanley was digging in the common land at St. George's Hill; Fox was jailed for disturbing a meeting in order to preach. See The Journal, Chap. III.

cipline, and the outlines of rational theology."[1]

Winstanley's religious premises were: that the Puritan Revolution is part of a tremendous historical change altering the whole of human life, and that Christ within is the essential part of religion,--it becomes "for Winstanley, and for the mystics and the Quakers, the experience [that is] all in all." This, thinks Sabine, is essentially pantheism.[2]

Winstanley has carried the whole of Christian thought into a concept of the struggle in the soul. "Both God and the devil are literally within the soul," is Sabine's judgment.[3]

Winstanley's view of the Church is that of an exclusively spiritual body, composed of those inwardly regenerated by the operation of the law of righteousness, with no outward organization required, no visible marks, no doctrinal tests, no rites or forms (or at most symbolic forms). It is religion stripped of all sacerdotal and institutional elements.[4] Here is a search for a restored world, for a visible new world and an invisible Church. This is part of the pattern of thinking of the Commonwealth period. Is Fox only less thorough, less socially articulate, less consistent in his religious thinking?

---

[1] Ibid., p. 35. [2] Ibid., p. 40.

[3] Ibid., p. 41. [4] Ibid., pp. 46, 47-48.

Winthrop Hudson goes a step beyond Sabine: from Hudson one would infer that Winstanley was the parent of Quakerism and Fox is the Absalom who stole his father's glory. Hudson provides the oak tree for the renegade by his account of "A Suppressed Chapter in Quaker History," which contends that studied attempts were made, beginning with the "official" publication of Ellwood's edition of Fox's Journal, to foist upon people the myth of Fox as the founder of Quakerism, in order to avoid the embarrassment of Winstanley's social radicalism. To this end the early records were suppressed. He sums it up in this way:

> Thus it was that Fox came to be depicted as the founder of a movement which he had not founded but had joined, as the discoverer of a light which he had not discovered but had borrowed, and as a divine spokesman of immediately revealed "truth" which actually came to him second hand.[1]

He uncovers alleged traces of the true chapter in Fox's account in the Epistles,[2] of Quakerism before his active ministry, in the use of the word "Friendly" by

---

[1]Winthrop Hudson, "A Suppressed Chapter in Quaker History," Journal of Religion (Vol. xxiv, April, 1944), pp. 110-114.

[2]See George Fox, Works (Philadelphia: Marcus T.C. Gould, 1831), VII, 10. "And the truth sprang up first (to us, as to be a people to the Lord,) in Leicestershire in 1644, and in Warwickshire in 1645, and in Nottinghamshire in 1646, and in Darbyshire, in 1647, and in the adjacent countries in 1648, 1649, and 1650, and in Yorkshire in 1651, and in Lancashire and Westmoreland in 1652, and in Cumberland, and Bishoprick, and Northumberland in 1653, and in London, and most parts of the nation of England, and Scotland, and Ireland, in 1654, etc.
And in 1655, many went beyond seas. . . .
And in 1656, truth brake forth in America. . . ."

other groups, and in the leadership of Farnsworth and Aldam in the north counties.[1]

Elsewhere, Hudson provides Fox's spiritual pedigree by inserting Winstanley as the connecting link between a group of Puritan mystics, or finders, who used names such as "Children of Light" and the Quaker leader, Fox, the "joiner." Discounting both the proposition that Fox was a unique and sudden prophet coming out of the wilderness and Rufus M. Jones' "Atmosphere and climate" answer,[2] he proclaims Giles Randall, William Dell, John Saltmarsh, and Gerrard Winstanley as members of the chapter of early Quakerism[3]

Hudson avers that "practically every idea and concept that conceivably would have been in Fox's mind prior to 1660 can be duplicated in Winstanley. . . not only were the two men in complete agreement theologically and characterized by the same social sensitivity; they and their adherents were regarded in the same light by the world."[4]

If Fox were in such complete accord with Winstanley,

---

[1]See Braithwaite, Beginnings of Quakerism, pp. 58-60. "It is evident that Farnsworth and Aldam, and probably the other members of the group, had reached the Quaker experience before Fox came among them."

[2]Jones, Spiritual Reformers, p. 343.

[3]Winthrop Hudson, "Gerrard Winstanley and the Early Quakers," (Church History (Vol. XII, 1943), pp. 177-94. He rejects Jones' statement, "I very much doubt whether Winstanley in any degree influenced Fox," Mystical Religion, p. 494 (not 11, as incorrectly printed in the article).

[4]Ibid., p. 184.

his leadership of an organized movement seems inexplicable save on the score of compromise. It is well to note the Christian secularism reflected in men like Winstanley. There is a definite pattern of spiritualization of the Church idea coupled with an objectifying of the political situation in terms of Christian purposes. Some of the religious ideas, terms, and usages, as well as an element of social sensitivity surely entered into Fox's message. But there are decisive differences, clues to which are provided in the admission of Sabine that Winstanley "saw no need even for that minimum of organization by which Fox preserved the Quakers as a recognizable religious body,"[1] and in the statement by Hudson, "of all the amorphous groups among the dispossessed, only the followers of George Fox had sufficient cohesiveness to maintain their existence in any significant fashion."[2]

It matters not so much whether Fox entered the movement called Quakerism in its "first" chapter, or in its second. What is important is an understanding of the contribution he did make to radical Puritanism. One phase of that contribution is certainly his concept of the Church.

7. The Finders. "Finders" is a term applied to certain of the Seekers who had "arrived" spiritually.

---

[1]Sabine, Introduction, Winstanley's Works, p. 47.

[2]Hudson, "Mystical Religion", Journal or Religion, (Vol. 28), p. 55.

George Arthur Johnson asserts that William Dell, William Erbery, Thomas (not the Baptist) Collier, and John Saltmarsh had found their goal and were fitting forerunners to Fox. Indeed, Fox then found not only a prepared people, but a prepared message. "Their common point of view," he writes, "which is almost identical to that of George Fox, has remained comparatively unknown."[1]

It has already been stated that Johnson calls these men Puritan "spirituals" and does not find need to seek antecedents among the sixteenth century mystics.[2] Johnson declares that by 1646 these four men, associated together as chaplains and University graduates, awaited the coming of the Holy Spirit to establish the saints as rulers in England; "hence, these spiritual reformers never divorced the church from the state, but believed that the nation should become an outward protection for and benefactor to the religious institutions."[3]

The Age of the Spirit is dawning, according to Saltmarsh; rites and ceremonies are but passing figures in the progressive revelation of God, and the true Church, in the coming third age, in Christ reigning in the saints through the Spirit.[4] Here again is the emphasis upon the new day of Christ dawning in England.

---

[1] Johnson, "Seeker to Finder", p. ii.

[2] Supra, Chap. I, p. 10.

[3] Johnson, "Seeker to Finder", p. 21.

[4] Sparkles of Glory, cited in summary by Jones, Mystical Religion, p. 486. Jones in this chapter (xx) treats Dell, Saltmarsh, and Winstanley as "individual mystics", like Fox; all prophets for their age.

Summary

The England of George Fox witnessed the struggle for authority and for unity. The papacy was out of the race; and in the Commonwealth period both monarchy and prelacy were downed. The new assertion of individualism likewise feared Presbyterianism as a new form of the same oppression. Puritanism sought to find outward verities in the revelations of God through Scripture and inward certainty through personal experience of the saving work of God. Within the context of the Bible, radical Puritanism sought the authority of the Holy Spirit, the "Inner Word."

George Fox's spiritual travail mirrors the unrest of the times. Men sought a new inward unity, a concept of the Church that would unite more truly than could outward conformity enforced by the State. Related to Fox's own experiences and teachings are the views of other groups contemporaneous with him. The ideas of voluntary membership, perfectionism, mysticism, the invisible Church, of a coming New Age,--these ideas were cast in various forms. The seventeenth century was the second, and spiritual, wave of the English Reformation. New unity was sought within a Christian framework. The Seekers waited for the Church, the Ranters despaired of it, the Fifth Monarchy looked for it in the imminent return of Christ, the mystics spiritualized it passively,

the Levellers spiritualized it actively, while the Baptists and Independents separated its congregations from the world.

George Fox shared much in common with the radical movements of his time; but efforts to align him neatly with Baptists, Seekers, mystics, Ranters, Fifth-Monarchy, Levellers, and Finders result in only partial and inadequate appraisals. His contribution as a spiritual reformer needs to be considered not only in the light of this larger search but also in the light of his own experiences and thoughts in regard to the Church. There is a touch of humor, but withal a sort of judgment upon those who would make too facile identifications of Fox with this man or that, in his summary of a dispute at Leicester:

> But I maintained the true Church, and the true head thereof, over the heads of them all, till they all gave out and fled away.[1]

---

[1] The Journal, p. 25; 1648.

CHAPTER III

THE CHURCH IN APOSTASY

The false church which "fled away" from before the blasts of prophet Fox certainly constituted a large proportion of those who called themselves Christian. He writes:

> But dwelling in the light, all sects, and all opinions and religions are discovered, and stand naked before the Lord. . . . all . . . come to be judged and overturned, and seen to be chaff that is to be burned, with that which cannot be quenched . . . for the light. . . will lead you to the church of God, from the church of the world.[1]

The reasons why Fox considered that God's hand was at that time falling heavily upon England will be considered later.[2] Suffice it to say, here, that he claimed Divine authority for his words. His standards of criticism were the Bible, an idealized Apostolic Church pattern, his own spiritual experiences, and a sense of God's providence.

George Fox indicts the "sects, opinions, and religions" on these four counts: impure conduct, empty forms, unworthy methods of maintenance, and inadequate doctrines.

---

[1] GTD, Works, IV, 15ff. See bibliographical note for an explanation of abbreviations used.

[2] Infra, Chap. VI.

Impure Conduct

To the earnest young seeker for religious truth, the vanity and rudeness of people seemed terribly un-Christian. His own honesty was both laughed at and admired.[1] A drinking bout, in which the one who quit first hat to foot the bill, turned him away from youthful companions whose profession of Christian faith appeared to be meaningless.[2] Feasting at Christmas was repugnant to the sensitive young man who had rather seen the money taken about to needy folks; and marriage festivities appeared so frivolous that he refused to go, but afterwards he took money to the couple, if they were poor.[3]

The contrast between the terrible earnestness of Fox and the careless pleasures of professing Christians was all the more sharp because of the indignities of imprisonment suffered by the "Children of Light." This contrast breaks into sharp relief on the occasion of the bowlers on the Launceston Castle green. A friend had offered to lie in jail in Fox's place. When Cromwell sent major general Desborow to release the captives on condition that they cease preaching (which was, of course, unacceptable) the good general sought relaxation by bowling--while Fox languished in the abominable Doomsdale prison. Fox's words are understandably pointed:

---

[1]The Journal, p. 2. [2]Ibid., p. 3. [3]Ibid., p. 7.

> The word of the Lord to all you vain and idle minded people, who are lovers of sports. . . consider your ways. . . . Did God make all things. . . to serve your lusts and pleasures? . . . Did not the Lord make all things for you, and you for himself, to fear and worship him in spirit and in truth, in righteousness and true holiness? But where is your service of God, so long as your hearts run after lusts and pleasures? ye cannot serve God and the foolish pleasures of the world, as bowling, drinking, hunting, hawking, and the like. If these have your hearts, God will not have your lips. . . . own this day of your visitation, and while you have time prize it; lest the things which belong to your peace be hid from your eyes for your disobedience and rebellion against the Holy One.[1]

Frivolity, gaudiness, and idle sports were for Fox the marks of the sin of pride. In a paper "to such as follow the world's fashions" he writes:

> . . . how doth the devil garnish himself! how obedient are people to do his will and mind. . . . They have lost the hidden man of the heart, the meek and quiet spirit, which with the Lord is of great price. They have lost the adorning of Sarah; they are putting on gold and gay apparel; women plaiting the hair, men and women powdering it; making their backs look like bags of meal. They look so strange, that they can scarce look at one another; they are so lifted up in pride. Pride is flown up into their head; and hath lifted them up, that they snuff up, like wild asses, and like Ephraim: they feed upon wind . . . . They must be in the fashion of the world, else they are not in esteem; nay they shall not be respected, if they have not gold or silver upon their backs. . . . But if one have store of ribands hanging about his waist, at his knees, and in his hat, of divers colours, red, white, black, or yellow, then he is no Quaker. . . . Do not these incumber God's earth. . . . These are bad christians, and shew that they are gluttoned. . . . carried away with the vanities of the mind in their own inventions, pride, arrogance, lust, gluttony, uncleanness. . . these be they who are dead while they live. . .[2]

---

[1]Ellwood Journal, I, 237. Fox's paper, like many others, omitted from The Journal, but see narrative, pp. 252-53, 264-66; 1656.

[2]The Journal, p. 205; 1654/55. Cf. GTD, IV, pp. 194ff.

Fox scolds the nominal Christians for all their talk about "fiddlers, mountebanks, and stageplayers. . . shovel-boards, and plays, and games, and dice," for these things are works of the flesh: they glorify the creature, but not the Creator.[1]

Honesty and simplicity and respect had been abused, according to Fox, in the artificial courtesies which were considered part of the social amenities of life. This is his description of the hypocrisy involved:

> Bow you not more and oftener with the hat and the knee to one another, than you do unto the Lord? People cannot tell how to please one another in their bowing with the hat, in curtesying one to another, but they will be ready to think, that I bowed with my hat oftener to him than he did to me, and I curtseyed more to her than she did to me; and thus they are offended one at another; and such a one hath more ribbons, and gold and silver on him than I have, and spots on their faces, and he powders his hair and curls it. . . And are ye not out of the apostle's doctrine, who saith, "Not wearing of gold, nor broidered atire, nor plaiting of hair; but the adorning which is the hidden man of the heart?"[2]

This is the rigor of Puritanism in what Haller terms its "prohibitory phase."[3] But it is prophetic in the sense that Fox viewedsuch conduct as indicative of substandard Christian living, as evidence of selfishness.

The sin of greed comes likewise under the lash. In a paper influenced, no doubt, by the fifth chapter of Amos, Fox calls upon rulers and magistrates to repent and let justice and judgment run down the streets. Lawyers are to leave off oppression. Greed must be stopped in all

---

[1] GTD, Works, IV, 199-200. [2] Ibid., 50-51.

[3] Haller, Rise of Puritanism, p. 141.

quarters. Thus,

> And all ye husbandmen, tillers of the earth, or keepers of cattle, repent, that your minds may be brought out of the greediness of gain. Ye buyers and sellers of cattle, and all others. . . for this will men and women destroy one another with lies and flattery, through greediness after gain. . . . the cry and voice of repentance is sounded. . . to you all, rich and poor, small and great. . . and ye idle people of the land repent, for the day of the Lord's wrath is at hand.[1]

Bargaining and dickering is rejected as Christian practice. Ask your price and stick with it! He writes,

> This is the word of the Lord to you, ask no more than you will have for your commodity, and keep to yea and nay. . . and here will be an equal balancing of things, and a consideration before you utter words, and a using of this world, as though you used it not; and a possessing as thou you possessed not; and so you will come to shew a life like christians. . . so a child shall trade with you as a man.[2]

Greed is answered by non-attachment. Poor men are not necessarily saints--greed is basic, not poverty--but the rich are warned, nonetheless, to avoid deceit.[3] Greed has sucked the morality out of religion. Men profess Christianity and deceive in merchandize, and all the while

> your poor, and blind, and lame cripples [!], and women, and children, are crying up and down your streets, and steeple-house-doors, and alleys, and corners. . . and yet they are christians as well as you, and so members of the same body; so you may say, be clothed, be filled, be warmed. . . yet. . . not provided for; so this is to hang gold on one arm, and let the other go bare; or hang gold upon the back, and let the leg go bare; for all are members of one body. . .[4]

---

[1] GTD, Works, IV, 99-101. [2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.; see also V, 271ff. [4] Ibid., IV, 160-63.

With but a little money set aside, pleaded Fox, the needy could be cared for and work provided. Liberty must be bound by truth.[1]

Impurity of conduct was further manifested by the cruelty displayed by professing Christians. The Journal makes repeated reference to "rude" people, by which Fox describes the attitude of many of his oppressors. It was a brutal age;[2] and from his youth the valiant "publisher of truth" had been appalled at coarseness. He suffered abuse, both physical and spiritual.[3] His own personal intensity of conviction (which may well have appeared as unwarranted obstinance to his opponents) gave weight to his words which called for zeal without the corollary of violence. Stones, sticks, and even the Bible, were used as weapons against him by those who would not listen to his utterances.[4] These were spiritual leaders, many of them, It is an indictment against the Church for neglect

---

[1] Ibid.

[2] Elbert Russell, History of Quakerism (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1943), p. 7, gives this picture: "Crowds flocked to a hanging. At the court of Charles II, parties of men and women were made up to go down to the Bridewell to see women stripped to the waist and publicly whipped."

[3] See the Journal, ad passim. The Ulverston riot, is an example. He was mobbed while trying to speak in the "steeple-house" on lecture day. After a horrible beating he stood up and offered his body again, at which "a rude fellow" struck his arm powerfully. Later a soldier came to Fox and said, "Sir, I am your servant, I am ashamed that you should be thus abused, for you are a man," The Journal, 127-8; 1652.

[4] Ibid., p. 98; 1652.

of "the weightier matters of the law." These words against the scholars of Oxford and Cambridge accent the accusation:

> have not your young scholars torn their [the Quakers] clothes and knocked them in their channels, and shed their blood in the streets upon your pavements, and . . . thrown dirt and stones and muck amongst them, and upon them. . . and brought drink and threw it in the faces of them that met in the fear of God, and ask for lasses, women, and wenches; and these the two well-springs of learning, and the two famous universities of the land! oh do not these actions shame modesty, and christianity? are these fit to be ministers. . .?[1]

Pride, greed, and cruelty were revealed before God, thought Fox. They are outward evidences of an apostate Church, to which might be added immorality and drunkenness.[2]

Empty Forms

Fox judged the Church for not providing a content of faith, but rather for substituting forms. If morality was low it was because religion had not met men at the place of his moral needs. When as a youth Fox was seeking help from various ministers, he visited Doctor Cradock, of Coventry, to find out the cause of temptation and despair. The minister flew into a rage because the bumbling boy stepped into a flower bed, and sent him sorrowing away. He was "like an empty, hollow cask," writes Fox.[3]

This protest was intensified in later years. Criticism was part of the milieu of seventeenth century religion,

---

[1] GTD, Works, IV, 312-15.

[2] See address to vintners, Ibid., V, 143.

[3] The Journal, p. 6; 1646.

and Fox was part of the left-wing Puritan reaction against forms and ceremonies. The Long Parliament and Commonwealth periods provided opportunity to dispense with a good deal of Anglican forms. Both Presbyterianism and Independency made common cause against the relics of papacy. The Army of Parliament, in 1643, wrought reckless destruction upon church property. They fired shots at the statue of the Blessed Virgin with the infant Saviour, at Oxford, and in other ways demonstrated the wild reaction against such church forms.[1]

Among the "dark inventions of Fallen Man," Fox lists altars, crucifixes, images, pictures, organs, pipes, whistles, singing boys, singing of prayers, praying by beads, formal prayers, formal singings, formal preaching, processioning, gowning of priests with white sleeves, surplices, tippets, hoods, caps, red gowns, mitres, the cardinal's cap, and the pope's triple crown. Also feast-days, and pagan names for the days of the week.[2]

Fox's doctrine, writes Gardiner, "was but the quintessence of Puritan protest against external formality."[3]

---

[1]See William Holden Hutton, The English Church From the Accession of Charles I To the Death of Anne (London: Macmillan and Co., 1903), 125, and also Chap. ix. He shows how cathedrals were used for storehouses and stables, cannon made from bells. Secular marriage and the abolition of the feasts of the Nativity, along with abolition of the Common Prayer Book, distressed Englishmen greatly, thinks Hutton.

[2]See GTD, Works, IV, 19, 270-72, and VI, 464ff.

[3]Gardiner, Commonwealth and Protectorate, II, 20.

Fox's protest against formalism was much more thorough than most of the Commonwealth religious parties. "All ye churches gathered into outward forms upon the earth," warns Fox, "the Son of God is come to reign."[1]

The hypocrites (by which he means Independency) who profess liberty shall be in bondage, and the "witty ones will fall like leaves and wither like weeds," because they have a man-made sort of religion.[2]

In addition to the expected criticism against "priestcraft", he fulminates against calling that which was made of lime, stones, and wood "the Church."[3] "It is a lie to speak and say, the steeple-house is the church; or to say, they that are gathered by the form of the letter, is the church of God; for the church is the pillar and ground of truth. . ."[4]

His early openings included the conviction that God "did not dwell in temples made with hands," and his antipathy for "steeple-houses"(as he called them) stemmed from his belief that they were barriers instead of helps to God.[5]

Forms of worship, too, were criticized, for being simply words. People pray "forgive us, O Lord, as we do forgive. . .", asserts Fox, and yet they do not forgive.[6] The "world's fellowships, and prayings, and singings. . .

---

[1]Ellwood Journal, I, 188-89; 1655. [2]Ibid.

[3]The Journal, p. 24; 1648. [4]GTD, Works, IV, 18-19.

[5]The Journal, p. 8; 1647. [6]GTD, Works, IV, 281.

stood in forms without power,"[1] is Fox's condemnation, which is in keeping with the consciousness of the working of the Holy Spirit immediately in the heart--a consciousness which, among the more radical Puritans, admitted no need for liturgy.[2]

Regarding baptism and the Lord's supper Fox had a great deal to say from the standpoint of his own positive, spiritual concept.[3] These two "sacraments" were considered forms. Baptism in his time, at least for all but the Baptists, consisted of the sprinkling of infants. Both ordinances, while accepted by the moderate Puritans as specific means of Grace, were minimized or wholly neglected, almost in proportion to the radicalism of the group. In the search for immediacy, and the rejection of sacerdotalism, Puritanism remained in somewhat of an "unresolved tension" over these matters.[4]

Fox criticized baptism as ineffective. It could never sanctify a person.[5] "The sprinkling of infants I deny," he said, in answer to charges drawn against him, and there is no Scripture that speaketh of a sacrament."[6]

---

[1]The Journal, p. 35; 1648.

[2]Nuttall, Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith, p. 66. See his excellent treatment in Chap. iv.

[3]Infra, Chap. V; also pp. 118-20.

[4]Nuttall, Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith, p. 92.

[5]The Journal, p. 51; 1650. [6]Ibid., p. 134.

To a "Papist" Fox pointed out that there was no Scripture for "throwing a little water in a child's face," and calling it baptized.[1]

He would accept no subtle difference between Protestant and Roman views of the sacraments. He writes:

> Ye say the sacraments are the effectual means to salvation; and ye say again, they are not as they are themselves, but only by the blessing of Christ and his spirit in them: so here is confusion. How do ye differ from the Papists? for they say he is in them; and ye say his spirit is in them, and where his spirit is, is not he? O blind! are ye found out? go ye home to your mother the Papist. Where Christ's spirit is, he is.[2]

To Thomas Garwine, "priest of Edenborough" (a Presbyterian), who declared that unsprinkled children are "in a damnable state", Fox makes answer that he is a deceiver, and himself in a "damnable state" for asserting such lies.[3]

In a dispute with the Baptists at Dorchester, Fox asked them "whether they could say they were sent of God to baptize people, as John was, and whether they had the same power and spirit the apostles had, and they said they had not."[4]

Whereas infant sprinkling was regarded as a "dark invention" believer's baptism was considered as an unnecessary, and uninspired return to an earlier dispensation.[5] The breaking of bread, likewise, is not to

---

[1] Ibid., 528; 1668. [2] MGW, Works, III, 546-47.

[3] Ibid., 542. [4] The Journal, p. 231; 1655.

[5] Cf. Penn, Rise and Progress, pp. 17-18, "they rested also too much upon their watery dispensation, instead of passing on more fully to the fire and the Holy Ghost."

continue in a literal ceremony with material objects. "The bread which the saints break is of the body of Christ; he is the bread of life."[1]

The harshest charge against the Lord's supper is that of idolatry, a charge that represents Fox's fear that forms lead to worship of the creature, not the Creator. It is idolatry to make a Christ, and a God, and to kneel down to it.[2]

The church of Rome was considered the false church, historically speaking. She is the "whore" of the Revelation, with the wine of whose fornication the dwellers on earth have become drunk, "the great city which has dominion over the kings of the earth."[3] The very taint of Rome lingers in the crosses "a-top the mass-houses," and in the names, St. Paul's and St. Peter's.[4] Forms and ceremonies point to a substitution for life and power. He will not stop with the mere banishment of the Prayer-Book, or simply the discontinuance of formal praying and outward ceremonies. The apostasy goes far deeper and must be rooted out. Two other counts of the indictment follow.

---

[1] Saul's Errand to Damascus, etc., Works, III, 596.

[2] GTD, Works, VI, 481

[3] Revelation 17: 2, 18; see chaps. 17, 18. The Holy Bible, Revised Standard Version (New York: Thomas Nelson, 1952).

[4] GTD, Works, IV, 178-80.

Unworthy Methods of Maintenance

The full title to the Mystery of the Great Whore provides a clue to the deeper state of apostasy which Fox found ready for his prophetic words:

> The great mystery of the great whore unfolded; and antichrist's kingdom revealed unto destruction. In answer to many false doctrines and principles which Babylon's merchants have traded with, being held forth by the professed ministers, teachers, and professors in England, Ireland, and Scotland, taken under their own hands, and from their own mouths, sent forth by them from time to time, against the despised people of the Lord, called Quakers, who are of the seed of that woman who hath been long fled into the wilderness. Also, an invasion upon the great city Babylon, with the spoiling of her golden cup, and delicate merchandise, whereby she hath deceived the world and nations; and herein is declared the spoiling of her prey, in this answer to the multitude of doctrines held forth by the many false sects, which have lost the key of knowledge, and been on foot since the apostles' days, called Anabaptists, Independents, Presbyters, Ranters, and many others; who out of their own mouths have manifested themselves not to be of a true descent from the true christian churches: but it is discovered that they have been all made drunk with the wine of fornication received from the whore which hath sitten upon the beast, after whom the world hath wondered.[1]

To all such who made merchandise of religious things Fox gave warning that the day of the Lord is coming, with a fire now kindling upon the earth, "which shall burn up all, root and branch, head and tail."[2] That church was apostate which was forcefully maintained through a professional, formal ministry. The "head and tail" went beyond the anti-prelatical "Root and Branch"

---

[1] MGW, Works, III. I have put it into paragraph form. This collection of doctrinal arguments, a polemic, has an abusive tone, which, like others of the age, reflects the intensity of belief and the adolescence of journalism.

[2] Epis. 38, Works, VII, 48.

petition (1640).[1] The Westminster Assembly (1643-44) and Instrument of Government under Cromwell (1653) did not solve the problem of maintaining the Church worthily. The failure of Independency was the tail-end of reform by re-establishment. Here is Fox's disillusionment about the degeneracy of the "hireling ministry,"

> Did the common-prayer men do well in putting the papists out of the mass-houses, and so call it their church? did the presbyterians do well in putting the common-prayer men out of the same mass-house, and call it their church? and so likewise the independents? . . . Did the papists do ill in selling their mass by the hour-glass? do ye well that sell your prayers and preachings by the hour-glass, and when the glass is run, the time is spent neighbours? as much as to say, ye have your measure and bargain, give me my due, that the pope my father gave me? for Christ and his apostles made no such provision for me, but sent his without bag, and would not suffer them to preach for filthy lucre; surely is not this the hard master? but is not this the man that hid his talent, that said so; that must be bound hand and foot, and cast into utter darkness, and his talent taken from him; was tythes, midsummer-dues, Easter-reckonings, glebelands, peterpence, clerks'-wages, preaching over the dead for money, marrying people, christening children for money, the pope's provision, he made for ye, and . . . are not ye popishly minded. . . are not (these things) the dregs that came out of the pope's old bottle, like unto that which came out of the Jews' old bottle, against Christ and his disciples . . . for did they ever put any to death for not putting into the priest's mouth? did they fine or imprison any for not putting off the hat? did they plunder or rifle the houses of people for not mending their temple, and paying the clerk for saying

---

[1]Among the "manifold evils" listed, "the great increase of idle, lewd and dissolute, ignorant and erroneous men in the ministry. . . and will they but wear a canonical coat, a surplice, a hood, bow at the name of Jesus. . . they may live as they list. . . vent what errors they will, and neglect preaching at their pleasures without control." Cited by Gardiner, Stuarts and Puritan Revolution, p. 139.

> amen, and bringimg a cushion, and hanging a priest's pulpit. . . .[1]

The compulsory tithes levied for the support of the ministry is part of the apostasy, it is part of the wine of Rome, according to Fox.[2] Efforts to abolish the tithes, early in the Commonwealth period, failed, and the Quakers suffered in their persons and through loss of their goods because of their refusal to conform up to and even beyond the Toleration Act of 1689, when their goods were subject to distraint. Denunciation of such a compulsion was a costly affair; therefore it was understandably sharp. Penington likens the false church to a prostitute who "meets men in the streets and forceth them into her bed,"--an illustration graphic but not particularly apt.[3] Fox relates with a touch of relish what the common folk of Drayton, his native town, had to say about the singular freedom which he enjoyed on that sojourn:

> . . . they said that the priest of Nuneaton was dead and there were eight or nine of them seeking to get into his benefice, and "they will let you alone now, for they are like a company of crows, when a rotten sheep is dead, they all gather together to pluck out his puddings, and so do the priests for a fallen benefice."[4]

---

[1] GTD, Works, IV, 259-62. Cf. Winstanley, "Law of Freedom", Works, ed. Sabine, p. 544, "the old Kingly Clergy. . . observe the bent of the peoples minds, and make Sermons to please the sickly minds of ignorant people, to preserve their own riches and esteem among a charmed, befooled and besotted people."

[2] Ibid., 178-80.

[3] Isaac Penington, Of the Church-State (London: 1666) p. 8.

[4] The Journal, p. 223; 1655.

I,16

Compulsory tithes for the state support of the ministry was bad, according to Fox, but that which made it an effrontery before God was its by-passing of the gifts of God. The disillusion of the youth who came, by experience and by vision, to know that Cambridge or Oxford training could not qualify men to be ministers,[1] ripened into a conviction that the clergy were "Simon Magus brats" and of the spirit of Gehazi, who bought their gifts at schools and colleges, sold them again for money, and took payment for the grace of God.[2] They were unworthy of what he conceived to be the gospel ministry. He charges priests, curates, parsons, and vicars to come up to the bar of judgment:

> have you not sold your birthright for a mess of pottage, for a morsel of bread, for a handful of barley. . . . and Esau-like, hunting up and down with his sword, to kill and slay the just Jacob, and get great benefices, and cast him into prison, and would make him to bow. . . but now the younger is risen, and the elder shall be servant. . .[3]

They are false prophets who make merchandise of the people, "hirelings who fleece the sheep for their own gain."[4]

Against the moderate Richard Baxter, who claimed true ordination on the basis of "the people's consent, and the magistrates' allowance," Fox makes this answer:

---

[1] Ibid., p. 7; 1646.

[2] GTD, Works, IV, 190-91 and VI, 459-60.

[3] Ibid., IV, 191. [4] Epis. XCI, Works, VII, 98-99.

> Balaam had the people's consent, and the heathenish magistrates' allowance, when he should have cursed the children of Israel, and so this is no proof of ordination. And the chief priests had the people's consent; and many of the magistrates turned against Christ. So this is no ordination for ministers of Christ. And the beast and the false prophet shall rise against the Lamb and the saints, and yet they shall have sheep's clothing; this is no proof of their ordination from God, but all this proves it from man.[1]

Not only had the ministers no God-given gift of ministry, according to Fox's standards, they were further apostate in their rejection of the present leadership of Christ. He writes,

> Now, you say, and teach. . . that there is no hearing Christ's voice nowadays, and that is strange, cannot you hear his voice, he stands and knocks at the door of your hearts? what, will you be just like your forefathers the pharisees, and Jews? "have ears and hear not, eyes, and will not see, and hearts and will not perceive," I believe, if a man should knock at your door, and tell you of a benefice of a thousand a year, you could open your doors soon enough. . . but Christ knocks at your door, and you say and tell people, there is no hearing his voice nowadays.[2]

He deplores the lack of missionary interest among the clergy who go no further than "a fat parsonage" or "benefice provided by some magistrate or great person," and must have a law to compel people to give maintenance rather than to trust the Lord.[3]

The climax to the system of forced maintenance and an ungifted ministry was persecution, the sure mark of the apostasy. Fox bravely asserts that

> the apostles, and they that did succeed them in the

---

[1] MGW, Works, III, 113. [2] GTD, Works, V, 355.

[3] Ibid., 52.

> same spirit, did convert more Jews and heathen to Christ by their free preaching, than ever the Papists and Protestants have done this thousand years, for they converted them with the spiritual weapons and armour, which Christ armed them withal, but have not Protestants and Papists made them turn from one sect to another with carnal weapons?[1]

That Fox and his fellow-Quakers felt the harsh sting of intense persecution may well have sharpened the appreciation for non-coercive religion. But the protest against persecution was more than a cry of an under-dog, as R.A. Knox seems to imply.[2] Fox saw in persecution the recourse of those who fear their doctrines will stand on no other grounds. He considered the ministry and magistracy both blind to execute the malice of the priests against those of contrary faith.[3] Milton would grant tolerance to all but "Popery, and open superstition, which as it extirpats all religious and civill supremacies, so it self should be extirpat," after first trying to win back the weak and the misled.[4] But Fox wrote:

> . . . if people have sinned in their judgment concerning religion, and are mistaken, hath Christ bidden you to persecute them for their sin's sake? which he died for, and tasted death for every man;

---

[1] Ibid., VI, 477.

[2] R.A. Knox, Enthusiasm, A Chapter in the History of Religion (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950), p. 146. He builds his case flimsily, admitting that Quakerism had from the first no sympathy with coercion, but flirting with "imaginary suppositions" of what intolerance Fox would have for steeple-houses and tithes, if he were in Cromwell's position.

[3] MGW, Works, III, 545.

[4] John Milton, "Areopagitica", Complete Poetry & Selected Prose (Modern Library; New York, Random House, 1950, p. 721.

I,19

> and was manifest in the flesh to condemn sin in the flesh; and the promise is. . . Christ's work to destroy sin, and the author of it, the devil, and not to destroy the creatures.[1]

Those who "will not have Christ to reign" over them, like the Jewish authorities in Jesus' days, turn to the sword. This is not the way of the apostles. The true weapons are wanting. He writes:

> Is it not a shame to the ministers of the gospel (as they are called) that they can find no better way to maintain that which they call the truth, and their gospel, than by carnal weapons, stocks, prisons, whips, watches, and wards, and the powers of the earth? Were these the apostles' weapons? . . . what an antichristian spirit you have. Never talk of defending truth with that which is against truth.[2]

Fox classified the New England persecutors as partakers of the nature of Cain. Indeed, they are in a worse state, "for Cain had made no Law for a Cover to persecute his brother by; but now you have done it by a Law of your own making. . ."[3]

Persecution is the mark of the false church. "There is some difference in many things between the popish religion and that which ye call the protestant," he avers, "but in this persecution of yours there is no difference."[4]

When Oliver Cromwell sponsored a collection for relief of Protestant Churches and families driven from

---

[1] GTD, Works, IV, 319-20.

[2] Ellwood Journal, I, 228; 1656.

[3] George Fox, Cain against Abel, representing New England's Church Hirarchy, in opposition to her CHRISTIAN Protestant Dissenters (1675), p. 6.

[4] Ellwood Journal, I, 306; 1658.

Poland and Bohemia, Fox felt "moved" (rather quickly moved, no doubt) to write the Protector and the magistrates "to make them sensible of their injustice and self-condemnation in blaming the Papists for persecuting the Protestants abroad, while. . . at the same time persecuting their Protestant neighbours and friends at home."[1]

To the Roman pontiff Fox addressed these words: "The Lord God is angry with all your idol images. . . your orders. . . your will-worship. . . your feigned humility," comparing the pope and cardinals to "fat hogs" drinking the blood of the saints and imprisoning "the Lord's messengers."[2]

The pope has been worse than the heathen, worse than the Jews, worse than the heathen philosophers because of the fires of inquisition, so that the name of Christian was made "to stink among Jews and Gentiles."[3]

The line of persecution goes back to Cain, Fox believes. It is the birth of the flesh warring against the birth of the Spirit. Fox would purify the Church from this odium. Unworthy motives reflect doctrinal bases. This is his question to persecutors:

> . . . are not you that use your carnal Weapons carnal Professors, Defenders of your carnal Church with carnal Armour and Weapons, by carnal Men? And

---

[1]The Journal, pp. 348-49; 1658.

[2]GTD, Works, IV, 246. Luffe and Perrot were the "Lord's messengers," the first of whom was executed after examination by Alexander VII. See Braithwaite, Beginnings of Quakerism, pp. 424-25.

[3]Ibid., 250.

I,21

how dare you say Christ is the Head of such that neither know him nor his spiritual Ministers, Armour nor Weapons?[1]

Inadequate Doctrines

Impure conduct, empty forms, and unworthy methods of maintenance are all evidences of the apostatized church; but that which is the source for these indications is expressed in doctrinal terms. Edward Burroughs, in his valuable Introduction to The Mystery of the Great Whore declares that the Quaker controversy with the "priests and professors" consists in the call, practice, and maintenance of the ministry and in doctrine. It is to prove the Quaker doctrine conformable to the apostolic and true ministry, and to disprove their opponents principles that the arguments are collected.[2]

"Possession", "life", and "power" are adjudged necessary to replace "profession", "letter", and "notions". The essence of the condemnation is that churches were "without the same power as the apostles;" and this verdict is pronounced wholesale upon Papists, Presbyterians, Independents, Seekers, Baptists, Episcopal men, Socinians, Brownists, Lutherans, Calvinists, Arians, Fifth-Monarchy Men, Familists, Muggletonians, Ranters.[3]

"If you have not the same Holy Ghost and the same

---

[1]Fox, Cain against Abel, p. 37.

[2]MGW, Works, III, Introduction, 8-10.

[3]See The Journal, pp. 417-19, for a broad application to verdict repeatedly pronounced.

power and spirit as the apostles had, there is a degeneration," are Fox's words to a Jesuit.[1]

Specifically, that which the Church was charged with having lost was the power of Christ, the light. Rome had lost him amid the accretions of tradition and ceremony. The "real presence" of Christ was not a thing to be found in the mass. To a Jesuit Fox said,

> Christ said, "This is my body"; also he said, "I am the vine, and the door and the rock of ages." Therefore, is Christ an outward rock, door, or vine?[2]

Protestantism had lost Christ in the letter, "the priests have got the Scriptures and are not in that spirit which gave them forth."[3]

This is the problem of the conjunction of Spirit and Word, or present inspiration and past inspiration, which will be discussed more in the following chapter. Fox's quarrel with the letter professors was that they did not apply, and had lost, therefore, that which made it Scripture,--i.e., the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. Scripture became law or history, but not life, without the personal reference. To illustrate, Fox wrote:

> And I saw the state of those, both priests and people, who in reading the Scriptures, cry out much against Cain, Esau, and Judas, and other wicked men of former times, mentioned in the Holy Scriptures; but do not see the nature of Cain, of Esau, Judas. . . in themselves. And these said it was they, they, they, that were the bad people; putting

---

[1] Ibid., p. 343; 1658. [2] Ibid., p. 344.

[3] Ibid., p. 109; 1652; in the Firbank Fell sermon to the Separatists.

> it off from themselves: but when some of these came, with the light and spirit of Truth, to see into themselves, then they came to say, "I,I, I, it is I myself that have been the Ishmael, and the Esau," etc.[1]

As the Jews had the Scriptures, and tried the doctrines of Jesus and the apostles by them, but erred because they "tried without the Holy Ghost," so the Scriptures without the guidance of the Spirit cannot rightly test "opinions, religions, and judgements".[2]

Ranterism, representing the extreme form of religious individualism, had lost Christ by its extreme antinomianism. Fox quotes Justice Hotham as saying that "if God had not raised up this principle of light and life, the nation had been overspread with Ranterism and all the justices in the nation could not stop it with all their laws."[3]

Fox describes a Ranter meeting as a sort of party, in which they took tobacco and drank ale. They were "light and loose," "dry and barren" because they neither learned of Christ or followed him.[4]

With Christ lost in forms, in the letter, and in libertinism, an adequate appreciation of the work of Christ was wanting. An artificial, forensic kind of atonement was offered by Protestants and Papists, he declares:

> The Papists say they must have a purgatory when

---

[1] Ibid., p. 30; 1648. [2] Ibid., p. 40; 1649.
[3] Ibid., p. 90; 1652. [4] Ibid., p. 79; 1651.

> they are dead. And the Protestants say, they must have a body of death and sins of the flesh, whilst on this side the grave, and that there is no perfection while upon the earth. . . . And the Papist and Protestant teachers which do oppose the true light of Christ. . . will not come to it, because it will reprove them. . . . neither can they preach Christ truly as he was in his flesh, nor him in his divinity.[1]

Both are as blind as the Jews; they are ignorant of Christ, he believes.[2]

His jailing at Derby, in 1650, on charge of blasphemy, because he claimed sanctification, brought on a flurry of preaching against such dangerous doctrines. This was understandable when one considers that men like Baxter considered that

> the Quakers were but the Ranters turned from horrid profaneness and blasphemy to a life of extreme austerity on the other side. Their doctrines were mostly the same with the Ranters.[3]

Fox charged that the priests "preached up sin," and "pleaded for imperfection to the grave," and babbled about the Scriptures, the words of holy men, while pleading for unholiness."[4]

Men are reprobate who want Christianity completely outside of them.[5] There is no repentance at the grave, he warns.[6] And present evil nature in man is not reconciled to God (the Ranters claimed "that Christ reconciles

---

[1] GTD, Works, VI, 478-79. [2] Ibid., V, 271.

[3] Reliquiae Baxterianae (1696 edn.), i, 77, cited by Braithwaite, Beginnings of Quakerism, p. 22.

[4] See The Journal, pp. 52, 56.

[5] MGW, Works, III, 268. [6] GTD, Works, V, 12.

the serpent"), but evil is purged out.[1] There is no need to talk about the blood of Christ unless it really cleanses.[2]

The doctrine of election and reprobation was a frightening thing, delivering people over to fright, for it claimed

> that the greatest part of men and women God had ordained for hell, let them pray, or preach, or sing, and do what they could, it was all nothing if they were ordained for hell. And God had a certain number which were elected for heaven, let them do what they would. . .[3]

Such a covenant of darkness appeared to Fox to arise out of a willful abuse of the gospel and a misunderstanding of Scripture.[4] But what else can they plead for, he queries, who "are unbaptized with the spirit?"[5]

Summary

George Fox indicts the apostate church on four counts: (1) impure conduct, whereby professing Christians by the sins of pride, greed, and cruelty show that religion has not reached morality; (2) empty forms, the substitution of which have equated buildings with the Church, outward forms with true worship, and sacraments for the real presence of Christ; (3) unworthy methods of church maintenance, consisting of the forced support of spiritually unqualified ministers who resort to persecution to defend a man-made religion; and (4) inadequate

---

[1] Ibid., VI, 429. [2] Ibid., V, 252.
[3] The Journal, p. 316; 1657. [4] Ibid., p. 317.
[5] GTD, Works, V, p. 309.

doctrines, to which these evidences of apostasy point, and which consist of the loss of Christ through forms, legalism and individualism and the excuse to continue in sin until death.

An evaluation awaits a description of the "true Church".

CHAPTER IV

THE CHURCH GATHERED OUT OF THE WORLD

> . . . Our God. . . hath gathered us, and doth feed us upon the mountain in a good pasture; and so we witness the promise of the Lord fulfilled: and as the Lord said I will seek that which was lost, and bring again that which was driven away, through that one shepherd Jesus Christ; herein do we witness the Lord fulfilling the scriptures in us, and I witness the lost sheep is found. . . .[1]

Fox conceives of the Church of the Restoration as a group gathered out of the world by the grace of God, through Jesus Christ. "Man-made" religion, "notions", and profession without possession" are decried. The true Church is of Christ; it is "gathered in his name".[2]

Of all the claims that brought wrath down upon the heads of "the people in scorn called Quakers," this one seemed the most insulting, that they had come to restore the true Church. Richard Baxter wrote:

> The Quakers are but a few distempered people, risen up within a few years in this corner of the world: and yet they are not ashamed to condemn the most godly Christians, Ministers, and Churches of the world that are not of their way, as if the Church were confined to these few poor, distracted, erroneous persons. . . . And for these to reproach the Church is no wonder; but to appropriate it to themselves that are no members of it, is as if Turks or heathens should have persuaded the world that they

---

[1] GTD, Works, IV, 40.

[2] Epis. 279, Works, VIII, 25; Epis. 316, Ibid, 76; Epis. 270, Ibid., 15; Epis. 249, Works, VII, 298; Epis. 239, Ibid., 264; and Epis. 241, Ibid., 271.

> are the only Christians. . . . let them consider what I said before to the Seekers: if there be no Church there is no Christ, no body, no head: And no Church, no Christians, and no justification or salvation. . . . Surely Christ had a Church before the Quakers.[1]

This is a charge that Fox faced. Although he wrote no systematic theology he did formulate his thoughts about doctrine in a rather consistent fashion. The Gospel Truths Demonstrated, or "Doctrinals", as they are sometimes called, along with numerous passages in the Journal and in the Epistles, give his conception of how the Church is gathered. out of the world. It is descriptive of that which he himself had experienced and was preaching. He did not abhor doctrine, but only man's "notions" about it. His ideas about how the Church is gathered are explicit.

Through the Revelation of God

Fox cannot be understood at all apart from an appreciation of his dependence upon revelation. "And they that say revelations are ceased," he writes, "they may as well say, there is no gospel; and so have no Christ to preach, and are only ministers of the letter. . ."[2]

His own great experience of salvation came by the voice that spoke. He asserts that he did not know God "but by revelation, as he who hath the key did open."[3]

---

[1]Richard Baxter, The True Catholic, and Catholic Church Described, etc., Sec. III, 79-81 (1660 ed.), cited by More, Anglicanism, No. 44, p. 84.

[2]Epis. 272, Works, VII, 327. [3]The Journal, p. 11.

God had spoken to his people. The mystery of Christ is to be known by revelation. The direction is not from man to God but from God to man.[1] Two major questions arise: what is the significance of the Scriptures and what is the nature of later revelations?

Among his fourteen propositions against Fox, Roger Williams listed this charge: "that they doe not own the Holy Scriptures;"[2] and the pages of the Mistery of the Great Whore are covered with accusations and refutations of this heresy. The significance of the Scriptures for Fox can be shown in these ways:

1. The Scriptures are part of the Revelation of God. They are the words of God, not the Word, the last term being reserved for Christ, of whom the Scriptures are the declaration.[3] In reply to Williams' jibes, Fox and Burnyeat "quenched the New England fire-brand" by asserting that the necessity of the Spirit was denied by a bald dependence upon either the literal, translated words or a Papal-approved interpretation. The Scriptures then become just what man says they are.[4] Fox's favorite expression is that no

---

[1]See GTD, Works, V, 236. He cites 1 Peter 1: 12, 1 Cor. 14: 26 and Jesus' words, "no man knoweth the Father but the Son, and he to whom the Son reveals him." (Matt. 11:27)

[2]Roger Williams, George Fox Digg'd out of his Burrowes, etc. (Boston: John Foster, 1676), p. 3.

[3]See MGW, Works, III, 159; GTD, Works, IV, 90ff.; the Barbadoes letter, Journal, p. 604; 1671.

[4]George Fox and John Burnyeat, A New England Fire-brand Quenched, etc. (1678), pp. 148-49.

man can understand the Scriptures except they are in the same Spirit that moved the writers.[1]

Fox means, then, that revelation, while including the Scriptures, was larger than its outward evidences. As Fox had been saved by Christ, revealed in personal experience, and not by reading the letter, so in his call he felt constrained "to direct people to the Spirit that gave forth the Scriptures, by which they might be led into all truth, and so up to Christ and God, as they had been who gave them forth."[2]

2. The Scriptures are true and inspired. Fox declares that his visions came to him without the help of man or letter, during his conversion experiences, but adds, "though they are written in the letter" and that he esteemed the Scriptures as "very precious".[3] He later testifies:

> . . . the scriptures of truth; which we own and have a high esteem of. . . above all other writings in the world extant, which are given forth in the wisdom of men, for the holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost. . . and all his people, who receive Christ, receive him that doth fulfil them, and opens the scriptures to them by the Holy Ghost, who leads them into all the truth of them.[4]

Thus only the initiated can know the Christ, about whom they are written. Fox may have misunderstood Baxter's

---

[1] See the Journal, pp. 28ff; 1648, and ad passim.

[2] Ibid., p. 34. [3] Ibid.

[4] GTD, Works, IV, 406. Cf. R(ichard) Farnsworth's Confession and Profession of Faith in God, etc. (London: Giles Calvert, 1658), p. 4.

statement "The holy scriptures are the temporal word," to mean "transient" rather than "in time", but his answer at least shows an appreciation of Scripture as embodying eternal truth: "Now see if this be not an undervaluing the scriptures of truth, and the words of God and Christ, and of the prophets and apostles, which cannot be broken."[1]

Nuttall writes that the Puritan argument from 1650 onward is whether the Word (Bible) should be tried by the Spirit, or the Spirit by the Word. One group regarded the indwelling of the apostles as extraordinary, the middle group believed, with Baxter, that the Apostles wrote infallibly, but that "this is not that way of ordinary illumination now," and the third group, the radicals, who believed in the pouring out of the Spirit as upon the Apostles.[2] He believes Fox differed from radicals such as Saltmarsh and Erbury only in accepting for daily practice that which they held in principle.[3]

It is clear that Fox does not consider the Holy Spirit to be "extraordinary" for the apostles and "ordinary" for other Christians. That would isolate the message. All within the true Church have the Spirit "extraordinarily". He writes:

> And we know, as Peter saith, that "no prophecy,"

---

[1] MGW, Works, III, 77. He is answering a charge levelled in Baxter's Quaker's Catechism.

[2] Nuttall, Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith, p. 28. See Chap. I, "Spirit and the Word". He has cited Baxter, Works, II, 104.

[3] Ibid., p. 29.

> . . . is of "any private interpretation." 2 Pet. 1. 21. And now are not all ye professors of the letter (that say you have not the same spirit that gave forth the scriptures,) private interpreters of them? and follow your own spirit as the prophet saith, and see nothing; for the prophecy came not in the old time by the will of man, but "holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost," and ye deny the having of this Holy Ghost now a-days, and call it an extraordinary spirit. Ye deny that which Christ sends to lead his church. . . . So it is an extraordinary spirit that people must pray and have fellowship in, and call Jesus Lord by, beyond man's spirit, by which the holy men's words are seen. . .[1]

Fox is willing to trust the inspiration of the Scriptures to the same inspirer, who will transmit the truths. Anglicanism trusted that reason could appropriate the interpretations transmitted by "the Holy Fathers and Doctors of the Church, as they had received it from those before them."[2] Calvin affirmed but hesitated to enforce "that he only whom the Holy Spirit hath persuaded, can repose himself on the scripture with a true certainty."[3] And even the Westminster Confession, though its propounders were aware of "heretical" subjectivism, asserted that the "inward work of the Holy Spirit" gives full persuasion and assurance of infallibility.[4] Regardless of what papistic labels are attached to him, Fox insists that the only

---

[1] GTD, Works, V, 141.

[2] Peter Gunning, The Pascal or Lent Fast, Apostolic and Perpetual (1662), cited by More, Anglicanism, No. 49, p. 91.

[3] Institutes, lib. 1, cap. 7, sect. 4, cited by Robert Barclay, An Apology for the True Christian Divinity, etc., (Stereotype Edn.; Philadelphia: Friends' Book Store, 1908) Prop. III, sec. I, p. 73.

[4] Cited from chap. 1, sec. 5 by Barclay, Apology, p. 74.

safeguard for the transmission of an interpretation of Scriptures is the Holy Spirit.[1] He thus denies that inspiration can be carried only on wings of words, for "man's spirit" would either decree its interpretation or would distort it on the basis of individualism. He aims for objectivity on the basis of the objectivity of the Spirit, and for subjectivity on the basis of the capacity of men to receive the revelation of God. Fox does not seek to minimize the inspiration of Scriptures but to enhance it.

3. The Scriptures are the standard for doctrine. Fox's mind was steeped the Bible. It provides the thought-forms out of which he speaks. He may have <u>received</u> truth without the help of man or letter--the Scriptures as salvation require a direct, personal bridge from God-- but the truths were there to be received. Consciously, he has a profound respect for Scriptures and demands that all arguments be conducted on the basis of Scriptural terms.[2] Thus Scripture is the standard against which argument is judged. His insistence upon Bible terms, and a repudiation of such words as "trinity", "sacrament", "human", etc., is not indicitive of heterodoxy but rather of a desire to stick with inspired, revealed usage. And then, too, Fox was an abler adversary using Biblical terminology than scholastic![3]

---

[1] <u>GTD, Works</u>, VI, 35. [2] See <u>Ibid</u>., V, 20.

[3] See <u>Ibid</u>., 42, 49-50 on terms; the <u>Journal</u>, p. 208, 295 for tactics in debate.

Rachel King has rightly stated that Fox does not claim beliefs, doctrines, or principles that he does not think are recorded in the Bible, and certainly "never claims that the direct inspiration has revealed anything to him that supersedes New Testament teaching."[1]

This brings up the question, whose claims for inspiration are to be accepted as conformable with the truths of the Scriptures? Fox at this point asserts that the "high-flown professors" make no claim to be in the "same spirit"; but the children of light do claim to have received the same spirit, and hence are capable of interpreting the doctrines of truth embodied in Scripture.[2]

4. The Scriptures provide the true guide to history. They tell the story of God revealing himself to men. It is a mark of apostasy to deny revelation, whether past or present. There is some sharpness in the criticism that Fox makes the Holy Spirit the authority for Scriptural interpretation, and then vindicates the Spirit by the Scriptures. But Fox thinks of revealed truth as a whole piece. Truth is not enlarging, but penetrating. Redemptive history shows the penetration and the inspired Scriptures relate the events and the significance of the Old and the New Covenants. If the same Spirit inspired Fox, what is the distinction between his writings and the Apostle Paul's? Turner declares that "logically, Fox ought to

---

[1]King, George Fox and Light Within, p. 165.

[2]See discussion in Barclay, Societies of the Commonwealth, p. 210ff.

have placed his own writings on a level with the Holy Scriptures, or rather to have claimed superiority for them; because his writings were originals," but Turner admits, "the Bible was as much to Fox as to the most biblical of Protestants."[1]

This contradiction melts away when one considers that for Fox there was a distinction between Scripture considered in and of itself sufficient for salvation and Scripture considered as a body of revealed truth. He accepts the Scriptural account of the coming of Christ into the world. The present age calls for people to come into the life which is witnessed. Fox writes:

> For now the state of this present age is, that the Lord is bringing his people into the life the Scriptures were given forth from, in which life people shall come to have unity with God, with Scriptures and one another, for the establishing of righteousness, truth, and peace, in which is the kingdom of God.[2]

This was a letter to Oliver Cromwell. It calls men to find the unity which is in truth. About this time some Ranters came into his room and disturbed him greatly by their cry, "All is ours," and their talk, "with a light chaffy mind of God and Christ and the Scriptures." He rebuked them.[3] "All things" are not erased from the past,--a past guided by the providence

---

[1]Frederick Storrs Turner, The Quakers: A Study Historical and Critical (London: Swan Sonnerschein & Co., 1889), p. 221.

[2]The Journal, p. 194-95; 1655. [3]Ibid., p. 195.

of God--on behalf of present individual spiritual liberty. Liberty cannot ignore what God has done. One is brought into the stream of truth, he does not devise his own. The Bible is Fox's history book, in a large measure. He makes use of the allegorical method, in accordance with New Testament usage (especially Paul and the writer of the Hebrews) but he does not lose his historical moorings. He does not, like Winstanley, place the whole drama of religion in the human mind. Fox's literal acceptance of the Garden account provides outward reality for the struggles of the soul. A comparison of "The Living God of Truth and the World's God, in whom there is no Truth" with Winstanley's "The New Law of Righteousnes" makes it clearly evident that one of the differences between the two men lies in the matter of Scripture, and that there is a distinct cleavage of ideas.[1]

5. The Scriptures are the outward rule of conduct. Just as the "spirit that the Apostles were in" is the norm for present revelation, so moral and ethical conduct finds in the Scriptures an authority. God doesn't speak in contradictions. Man does not need new creeds or rules. He writes: "the scripture is a better directory or creed

---

[1]See Winstanley, Works, ed. Sabine, pp. 155-241; also the editor's careful evaluation of Winstanley's views on Scripture, Intro. p. 44. But he has inaccurately identified this with Fox's views. See Fox, GTD, Works, VI, 3-77. Note also Rachel King, George Fox and the Light Within, p. 168, for an affirmation that Fox allegorized only in the acceptance of New Testament typology. She is severely criticized by Hudson,"Winstanley and the Quakers", Church History,(XII, 1943), pp. 187-n. 18. He mistakes Fox's views, at this point, I believe.

than any of you all can make, and the spirit is a better . . . leader."[1]

Man has the outward revelation, the scriptures are given forth "to be believed, fulfilled, and practised, and read."[2] When one comes to Christ, and is led by the Holy Ghost, the Scriptures "are read and understood with profit and great delight."[3]

The Scriptures are the rule for personal and corporate Christian life. The New Testament ideal is the norm for the Church.[4] And the motto of 2 Timothy 3:16, is Fox's concept of the edifying value of Scriptures.[5] While Fox cast scorn upon those who hoped to make the Scripture sufficient <u>for salvation</u> (language could confound the false church all the way from Babel to Babylon) yet he desired to have the Scriptures of the New Covenant translated into "every man's language and mother-tongue" so that they might understand, just as the Hebrews had their Scripture read amongs them in their synagogues.[6]

Beach has well expressed for Quakerism of the century what is surely true of Fox, "in theory, and in practice, Quakerism was in conformity with the accepted idiom of the century, that the Bible is the religion of the Protestants."[7]

---

[1] <u>GTD</u>, <u>Works</u>, V, 54. [2] <u>Ibid</u>.

[3] The <u>Journal</u>, p. 32; 1648. [4] <u>Infra</u>., Chap. V.

[5] "profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness. . ." <u>Journal</u>, p. 604.

[6] <u>GTD</u>, <u>Works</u>, VI, pp. 32-33.

[7] Beach, "Meaning and Authority of Conscience," p. 96.

Nuttall gives as a test, whereby one considers a group to be within the bounds of Puritanism or not, the primacy of the Spirit in the apostles as regulative; and he concludes that as long as Quakers sought a true identity between this spirit in the apostles and in themselves and gave the primacy to the former they were legitimately Puritan, and were but "making explicit what was meant by giving the primacy to the Word."[1] It may be asserted that Fox could thus be classified.

In answering the second of the major questions concerning revelation-- the nature of revelation other than Scripture--one finds in Fox a sense of the unity and continuity of God's ways with man. The Church that is being gathered in seventeenth century England, believed Fox, is drawn by the love and grace of God which is the same power that has always reached men. The greatest deceivers are not those who are in the darkness of "deceit", having not known God in full revelation, but are those who have "heard the voice of God, have experienced his miracles and wonders," have "come as far as Balaam, who could speak the word of the Lord, who heard his voice and knew it," but have drawn back from the implications of that Divine call.[2]

Fox is prophetic, not speculative. He is interested

---

[1]Nuttall, Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith, p. 29.

[2]The Journal, p. 29, 1648.

in what did happen, what does happen, what will happen, in terms of salvation. There is no analogy from man to God. God reveals his ways. The Scriptures reveal what has happened redemptively up through the coming of Christ. Present revelation confirms and applies the fulfilment in Christ. Thus, Fox reasons, to read that death reigned from Adam to Moses and understand it only in the historical sense is insufficient, one must see the "ministration of condemnation" constraining people from sin, in themselves. Likewise the ministration of types and shadows anticipates Christ. And John the Baptist, than whom the least in the Kingdom is greater, must be read in the Spirit, whereby the heart knows the crying in the wilderness of transgression and longs for the Spirit whereby the crooked can be made straight and the rough nature smooth. He concludes, "but as man comes through by the Spirit and power of God to Christ who fulfils the types, figures, shadows, promises, and prophecies," he is led into truth and the substance of Scriptures.[1]

They are in the Church to whom God has revealed himself in the tabernacle of the heart as in the age of the Old Covenant he called from the earthly tabernacle. God spoke to Moses from the mercy-seat; he speaks to "every child of light" by the touch of Christ upon the spirit.[2] It is by the revelation of God that Christ is

---

[1] See Journal, pp- 29-33; 1648.

[2] GTD, Works, VI, 338ff.

known in his "flesh",-- his birth, preaching, miracles, sufferings, passion, death, resurrection-- and in his divinity.[1]

It is the "world's god" which would hide present "moving and leading" of the Holy Spirit. Those who are in "the unclean ghost", believes Fox, are denying the "grace of God, which appears unto all men, to teach them, and bring their salvation, to be in man." Such are not to be trusted to interpret the Scriptures.[2] It is the serpent's kingdom which denies present inspiration, making a trade with the letter of the scriptures and saying "There is no such thing to be looked for now a-days" as God's voice.[3] Such is a veritable denial of the promise Jesus gave of the coming of the Holy Spirit and of this fulfilment amongst the apostles, and in the succession of "the true ministers."[4]

Supernaturalism is not, therefore, unexpected in a movement which claimed a return to apostolic revelation. What the more staid religionists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries called "enthusiasm" was charged against Fox and the Quakers. George Hickes reveals the Anglican horror for such teaching. He challenges the Quakers to match the Apostles by the gift of tongues, by receiving Paul's (inspired!) statement that a woman should not be allowed to speak in Church, and to preach

---

[1] GTD, Works, V, 201. [2] Ibid., VI, 34-35.

[3] Ibid., 23. [4] Ibid., V, 89.

no other doctrine than that the Apostles preached ("and the Catholic Church received"). Then he will believe it is the Spirit which is speaking in them; but, in a sort of grave apprehension lest tongues leap forth as flames of fire again, Hickes adds, "if they be lawfully baptized"![1]

This horror of enthusiasm was shared by the Cambridge Platonists, and marks a line between these two types of inward Christianity. Henry More, the influence of whom Rufus M. Jones finds not in evidence, but "can only wish that. . . contact had been more marked"[2] upon George Fox, opens his discourse on this dangerous religious principle with these words, "Enthusiasm is nothing else but the misconceit of being inspired." Elsewhere he writes, "If ever Christianity be exterminated, it will be by Enthusiasm."[3]

For Fox the reverse would be true: if ever Christianity be established and the Church restored it will be by inspiration and revelation. And there were many who awaited the display of "gifts" which would mark the end of the apostasy and the return of the true Church; especially was this true for the Seekers.[4] But even beyond the Restoration, Dr. Galenus Abrahams, Dutch Collegiant leader, asserted in debate with Penn (mostly) and Fox

---

[1]George Hickes, The Spirit of Enthusiasm Exorcized (London, 1680), Cited in More, Anglicanism, No. 45, pp. 84-85.

[2]Jones, Mysticism and Democracy, p. 136.

[3]Cited by Nuttall, Christian Enthusiasm, p. 23.

[4]See supra, Chap. II, pp., 32-34.

that "nobody now-a-days could be accepted as a messenger of God, unless he confirmed his doctrine by miracles."[1] Sewel, who gives this account, writes that Penn told Abraham that Christianity had already been affirmed once by miracles and that it was unnecessary among Christians.

Henry J. Cadbury's careful reconstruction of Fox's Book of Miracles shows that whether Christianity needed to be affirmed again or not, some of the supernatural, healing powers attributed to the Apostolate were asserted by Fox, in addition to visions, insights, and prophecies. Cadbury writes:

> It was natural that the early Friends should expect miraculous power. They testified to the contemporary coming of the Spirit among them in a manner comparable to New Testament times. Visions, insights and prophecies were vouchsafed to them which the even proved to have been true. They recognized Divine providence in their escapes from danger and Divine vengeance in the disasters of their foes. A power to cure could be accepted as no more supernatural than these other recognized phenomena.[2]

It should be noted that Fox did not make a display of these cures, which indicates that the working of miracles was, indeed, but a part of God's revelation and power in Christians.[3]

Molin writes that for Fox the voice of the Lord is the link between the social situation and the religious

---

[1]See Sewel, History of the Quakers, II, 259.

[2]George Fox's "Book of Miracles," ed. H.J. Cadbury Cambridge University Press, 1948), Intro., p. 5.

[3]See, for example, the reported cure of a man whose neck was thought to have been broken in a fall from a horse, the Journal, pp. 631-32; 1672.

nature of the message and that Fox's "assumption of the relation of God to man is exclusively a miraculous one," and completely private.[1] But "revelatory" might be a more apt term. There are two expressions, similar to others slightly different, that indicate Fox's sense of the authority of the revelation of God: "And the word of the Lord is to you," and "This was upon me from the Lord" often preface or close his admonitions.[2]

Such is the "spiritual" type of religion, with a direct and continuing revelation of God to man. The authority is in the Spirit of God, "in the heart of every believer, self-evident and self-authenticating."[3]

In The Power of Jesus Christ

The Church that is gathered through revelation finds its implementation through Christ, often referred to as "the Light Within", but never as the "inner light" (as the concept is popularly described), by George Fox. Much has been written about this dominant note in early Quaker thought.[4] The task here is to relate Fox's teaching concerning Christ to the Church that "is gathered in his name." The concept, "inner light", drawn away from its context tends to mean almost anything generally and

---

[1] S. Eric Molin, "George Fox as a Seventeenth-Century Religious Writer" (Columbia Univ. Master's thesis, 1951), pp. 6, 39, 16.

[2] See, for example, GTD, Works, V, 313.

[3] Beach, "Authority", Journal of Religion (vol. 32) p. 114.

[4] King, George Fox and Light Within, is the monograph.

nothing in particular. In considering Fox's Christology it must be remembered that Puritanism displayed a "surprising lack of christological thought";[1] for the emphasis was upon spiritual birth, not upon the Nativity, upon the pilgrimage of the Christian man through life to heaven, not from Jerusalem to Golgotha. This was not a denial of the historical foundations of the Christian faith. It was rather a revolt from "papistical" observations and feast days. Fox's position should be considered both in relation to the Historic Christ and the Inward Christ. It is doubtless true that "Fox's doctrine of the Church can only be understood in the light of his doctrine of Christ."[2]

Fox assumed that religious experience was founded upon the historic revelation of God in Christ. He writes:

> Now all that you call Christendom do believe that Christ is come, and is risen, and that Jesus is Christ the Son of God; so that now they are all to receive him, and to walk in him, and abide in him.[3]

That which was assumed as the very basis for Christianity from Fox's standpoint must not be ignored in considering his more particular emphasis upon Christ manifest in contemporary experience. There are two proofs given by the apostles, declares Fox, "To prove that Jesus was the Christ by Moses, and the law, and the prophets," and "to prove and examine themselves, whether or no Jesus

---

[1]See Knappan, Tudor Puritanism, p. 370ff.

[2]Lewis Benson, "The Nature of true Community, a Study of the Teachings of George Fox" (a paper presented at various Friends' gatherings in Philadelphia area).

[3]GTD, Works, IV, 324.

19

Christ was within them."[1]

Fox holds the traditional belief that Jesus was the Messiah of the Jews, predicted in the Old Testament by promises, figures, types, shadows, prophets, and so vindicated by the apostles. The events of his ministry likewise showed Jesus to be the true Christ, declares Fox; and he enumerates these manifestations: his preaching, doctrine, miracles, sufferings, death, resurrection, ascension, the sending of the Holy Spirit, and finally the appearing in his people.[2]

He holds, to the incarnation, accepting its mysteries. He explains to the Turks what all Englishmen took for granted, that Jesus Christ was born of the virgin Mary.[3] This was his belief as a youth and in his mature years.[4] Fox does not emphasize Jesus in history. His emphasis is upon salvation. But he shows sensitivity to the sufferings of Christ as man. The Journal reveals his answer, while yet a youth, to the question about Jesus' cry on the Cross, "My God, my God, why has thou forsaken me?":

> I told him at that time the sins of all mankind were upon him, and their iniquities and transgressions with which he was wounded, which he was to bear, and to be an offering for them as he was man, but died not as he was God; and so, in that he died for all men, and tasted death for every man, he was an offering for the sins of the whole world. This I spoke, being at that time in a measure sensible of Christ's sufferings. . .[5]

---

[1] Ibid., VI, 228. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid., 87.

[4] The Journal, p. 6; 1646, and p. 602; 1671.

[5] Ibid., p. 5; 1646.

It is as a man that Christ was crucified, not as he was God, Fox asserts in a reply to Mohamet the Fourth whose insulting letter to the German Emperor, Leopold, 1683, contained the claim that the sultan was the "commander and guardian of your crucified God. . . whose wrath I fear not, nor his coming to defend or deliver you out of my hands.[1]

It is true that in controversy Fox denies the word "human" to apply to the nature of Christ.[2] But one cannot infer from this that Fox did not believe Jesus possessed the attributes of man commonly considered "human nature". Fox objected to the term defensively because it is not Biblical and positively because it bears the meaning of sinfulness--it is "earthly", of Adam, hence in the fall. "Christ, according to the flesh, was of Abraham," i.e. a man, not just a body. Jesus Christ is the Second Adam, his nature is not earthly, but heavenly, i.e. righteous.[3]

The Atonement is real to Fox, as has been indicated by his statements about the Cross and to the Sultan. It is the once-offered Christ who "speaks to the condition" of Fox at his great spiritual crisis, the real Pascal Lamb, whose blood wet the hillside in Palestine.[4]

---

[1] Ibid., 372, see pp. 371ff.

[2] See MGW, Works III, 139, 396, 555.

[3] Ibid. King, George Fox and Light Within, pp. 75, 165, holds that Fox believed that the historical Jesus had no human nature--a view inclining "to Apollinarianism with a tendency to Sabellianism."

[4] See GTD, Works, VI, 75.

Christ is the agent of redemption. He writes, "And we have redemption through Christ's blood, even forgiveness of our sins, who hath delivered us from the devil."[1]

The Blood of Christ is the price for making men's bodies to be the temples of the Holy Ghost.[2] The blood is the life, which Jesus gave for the world and which, trampled on by false ministers becomes Fox's food and ministry.[3] Salvation has been purchased for all the sons of Adam, whether they believe or not.[4] Jesus is the Resurrected One, who dies no more, over whom the Sultan, or anyone else, is powerless, "whom the heavens must receive until the time of the restitution of all things."[5]

Fox conceives of the coming of Christ in terms of the priest of the new covenant, of a mediator between God and man. As the blood of the beasts represented life given, so Christ's life is the blood of the new covenant.[6] This paragraph portrays his teaching about the Atonement:

> And we that do believe in the light of Christ, which is the life in him, cannot deny the flesh of Christ, our heavenly bread, who remains in the heavens. I say, that Jesus Christ that died without the gates of Jerusalem above sixteen hundred years since, who hath enlightened us with his heavenly divine light. . . through which light we are grafted into Christ. . . who hath saved, redeemed, and purchased and bought us

---

[1] Ibid., 379. [2] Ibid., V, 97, Cf. 1 Cor. 5: 7.

[3] The Journal, p. 19; 1647.

[4] MGW, Works, III, 554. Cf. The Journal, pp. 33, 318.

[5] GTD, Works, VI, 378. [6] Ibid., V, 117, 362-64.

V,22

> with his precious blood, the blood of the heavenly man, the second Adam, who does cleanse and sanctify us with his blood, the blood of the new covenant, Christ Jesus; so I say, he that bought us, and purchased us, and hath given a price for us, to wit, his heavenly blood; we are not our own, and are not to live to ourselves. . . but to live unto him and be ordered, ruled, and governed by him. . . he is a priest, made higher than the heavens. . . offered up himself first for us, and offers us and cleanses, and washes, and sanctifies us with his blood. . . to present us pure and clean, without spot or wrinkle, up to the eternal, pure, holy, uncorruptible, infinite God, who is a consuming fire to the wicked, who dwells in glory, and inhabits eternity.[1]

There is certainly no mysticism that wires around Christ the Transformer, in Foxian thought. The intensity of his religious experiences is formulated in definitely Christo-centric lines with an emphasis upon the mediation of the Saviour.[2] It is a serious mistake to assume that "when Fox talks about Christ's dying for us and redeeming us, he is simply using inherited terminology without co-ordinating it with his other thought," and to posit "no logical need for the incarnation and the passion in Fox's central religious conceptions."[3] The whole foundation of

---

[1] Ibid., 203. Cf. 264. Cf. also, Augustine: "I do not say that He is Mediator because He is the Word, for as the Word He is supremely blessed and supremely immortal. . . but He is Mediator as He is man, for by His humanity He shows us that, in order to obtain that blessed and beatific good, we need not seek other mediators. . . God, having Himself become a partaker of our humanity, has afforded us ready access to the participation of His divinity." City of God, Marcus Dods trans. (New York: Modern Library, 1950), IX, 15.

[2] Cf. Lewis Benson, Prophetic Quakerism (Obtainable at Friends Book Store, Philadelphia, 1950), p. 14.

[3] King, George Fox and Light Within, p. 161. She has not used the three volumes of Gospel Truths Demonstrated ("Doctrinals") in her study.

his religious expression lies in these terms. To say that his experiences of the Inward Light have no connection with his inherited terminology is to read a presupposition back into him. The term "light" is inherited, too, from the Gospel of John. To understand what Fox understood by his experiences of God and to understand what he understood by Christ teaching his people and gathering his Church one must recognize that throughout his ministry Fox proclaimed that Christ the Light was Jesus Christ "that died without the gates of Jerusalem above sixteen hundred years since." There is no sharp division with Fox, and contemporary experience cannot be considered apart from the historical Christ.

The Church gathered out of the world in the power of Jesus Christ finds this experience, not through outward sacraments," in Fox's teaching, but by spiritual authentication,--by "enthusiasm". Fox writes:

> For Christ is a mystery; and this mystery is known and seen only by his light; and such know Christ no more by the letter of the apostles, than the Jews knew him by the letter of the prophets, and Moses, or as Saul; for when he was Paul, he knew him by revelation; and Peter knew him by revelation; and so the heavenly spiritual man is known by the "revelation of his light and spirit," and the revelation of faith.[1]

Willey refers to the "inner light" of the Quakers as "another of the inward certitudes by means of which the century was testing the legacies of antiquity and declaring its spiritual independence," along with "Reason"

---

[1] GTD, Works, 197.

of the Platonists, the "clear and distinct ideas" of Descartes, and the "common notions" of Lord Herbert of Cherbury.[1]

Certainly Fox wanted to maintain the life of that of which the Christian message testified. He would not be dependent upon a closed experience known only by letter and by form. He would have the Church to be emancipated from the unnecessary shadows of the Old Covenant. God speaks now in the tabernacle of the soul, in "a new and living way."[2] Man's certitude does not arise by detachment from God for a "better look" but by receiving God's revelation into the consciousness of experience.

The "Light Within" is not the only term used to describe the immediate authentication of Christ, the mediator. Various terms are used, somewhat interchangeably, to describe the activity of God upon the soul. The "measure within,", "pearl within," word of God within", "seed", "the power of God", "the Holy Ghost", "the spirit of truth", "the cross within", "the life", "the anointing", "the substance", and "the second Adam". The term "Christ" is used many times directly.[3] This paragraph illustrates his use of the terms:

And the power of God is the cross of Christ; and ye

---

[1]Basil Willey, The Seventeenth Century Background: Studies in the thought of the Age in Relation to Poetry and Religion, (London: Chatto & Winders, 1934), p. 73.

[2]GTD, Works, VI, 51ff.

[3]See Index to the Journal, Alphabetical Table in Works, VI, for GTD, for references. Also, King, George Fox and the Light Within lists some references, p. 42.

> feel Christ: for Christ is the power of God. The power of God is but one, and the light is but one, and the cross of Christ is but one, which is the power of God; and the gospel of truth is but one. . . there is no other.[1]

There are four main categories into which the terms fall: Christ, the Word; Christ the Light; Christ the Seed; and Christ the Life. It would be a mistake to divide them sharply; but at least they serve to portray Fox's thought regarding the authentication of God to man.

1. It has already been noted that Fox reserves for Christ the term "Word of God."[2] It denotes the authority of God in revealing himself to the world. It carries a personalistic reference. It is the Logos of Johannine writings in continued revelation. His emphasis was that of restoring personal authority, rather than relying upon the impersonalized "words" of God. But in controversy the main point was often lost in a tangle of debate about the Scriptures, along with accusations that Fox denied them.[3]

2. As the Light Within, Christ comes to illumine man and make him responsible before God. A clue to the foundation of this illumination is found in his excellent treatise, "A Testimony of What we believe of Christ". During a cursory review of the life of Jesus, along with texts and commentary, is this comment on Simeon's revelation that in Jesus he had seen "a light to be revealed to

---

[1]Epis. 130, Works, VII, 125. [2]Supra. p. 76.

[3]See, for example, the Journal, pp. 145-46; 1652.

the Gentiles, and the glory of thy people Israel," to which Fox adds, "And this we are witnesses of, and bear witness to, which he saw before his death."[1]

The function of the light is well described by Rachel King. The Light Within shows a man evil and brings to unity.[2] This is really a description in one term of "law" and "grace". It is an experience word used to describe theological expressions. Both Rachel King, in connection with Fox, and Howard Brinton, in connection with early Quaker thought in general, have shown that the term "spark" is not a synonym for the Light Within, as was the case with other mystics. The former declares that "it would be putting both a false simplification and a false implication of immanence upon Fox's beliefs,"[3] and the latter writes that such a designation might imply "a division of the Light".[4]

The light was never divorced from its Christological relationship. That is, Jesus Christ and George Fox were not both illumined by a common entity. Fox wrote a little paper "to show how the Lord was come to teach his people himself by his own son Christ Jesus" in which this is apparent. He writes,

---

[1] GTD, Works, V, 85. He refers to Luke 2: 29-32; cf. Isaiah 42: 6, 49: 6.

[2] King, George Fox and Light Within, p. 38. William Penn's definition is "something that is Divine, and though in Man, yet not of Man, but of God; that came from him, and leads to him all those that will be lead by it." Primitive Christianity Revived (1696), p. 2.

[3] Ibid., p. 39. [4] Brinton, Friends for 300 Years, p.21.

> The mighty day of the Lord is come and coming, that all hearts shall be made manifest; the secrets of everyone's heart shall be revealed with the light of Jesus, which cometh from Jesus Christ, who lighteneth every man that cometh into the world, who saith, "Learn of me." And, "This is my beloved Son, hear ye him," saith God; that all men through him might believe and the world through him might have life.[1]

Fox would give to the Light Within no "philosophical self-sufficiency."[2] Nor would he distinguish between a "natural" and a "spiritual" light. He refused to see the point of those who tried to say that what he spoke of was simply the natural conscience. He argued the matter with Cromwell and told the Protector that it was a divine and spiritual light from Christ.[3] In controversy with John Tombes, one of the committee of Triers, Fox made this same insistence. The Journal account reads:

> This Priest Tombes cries out, "That is a natural light and a made light."
>
> And then I desired all the people to take out their Bibles; for I would make the Scriptures bend him, and I asked them whether he did affirm that was a created, natural made light that John . . . bear witness to. . . to wit the Word, "And this life was the light of men." John i. 4. And I asked him whether this light was that created, natural, made light he meant.
>
> And he said, "Yes."
>
> Then said I, ". . . the natural, created, made light is the sun, moon, and stars. . ."[4]

"Take him away," said Tombes, and his exasperation is understandable! But what Fox was driving at is that there are not two illuminations of a man's spirit, but

---

[1]The Journal, pp. 236-37; 1656. Paper signed jointly with Edward Pyott and William Salt.

[2]Benson, Prophetic Quakerism, p. 18.

[3]The Journal, p. 274; 1656. [4]Ibid.,pp.295-96;1657.

one. He compares the Light Within with the sun, in an exhortation to Friends in Barbadoes:

> . . . you must. . . esteem all men and women, as they are God's creation; whose natural sun shineth and rain falleth upon the just and unjust. . . and so doth God's eternal son of righteousness shine with his light, and grace, and spirit. . . Thus doth he shine through all, and upon all, and over all, and above all.[1]

What Fox pictures in its universality, Barclay tersely calls "the Universal and Saving Light".[2] Fox is thinking in terms of salvation-knowledge, or that which assures of salvation. Man in the darkness of Adam's transgression, in the natural state, "may know the things in themselves that be natural, but he cannot know the things of God, but as the Lord enlightens his candle."[3]

For Fox the light is immediately revealed as the Holy Spirit, which leads into all truth and is the real teacher of the saints. This kind of directness to the witness of God did not appeal to Sir Henry Vane (the Younger), who told Fox, "None of all this doth reach to my experience."[4]

---

[1]Epis. 375, Works, VIII, 212. King misses this one. "It should be noted that Fox is careful not to liken the divine light to the sun," George Fox and Light Within, p. 77.

[2]Barclay, Apology, Propositions V and VI.

[3]GTD, Works, V, 268.

[4]See the Journal, pp. 334-36. Vane was governor of Massachusetts Colony, later Cromwell's right hand man. His testimony before his execution in 1662 is as follows: "I do earnestly persuade all people rather to suffer the highest contradiction from men, than disobey God by contradicting the Light of God in their own conscience." Cited by Jones, Spiritual Reformers, 279. See Chap. xiv.

It is hard to tell whether Fox was just being obstinate, in such controversies, refusing to see a position very near his own, or whether he was searching for a sharp distinction between natural and spiritual light. In any case, he was careful to show that the Light Within is identified with Christ and that it is perceptible for salvation universally and immediately. As a caution against any who would speak evil of the light Fox holds forth the example of the pastor of an Independent church in Scotland who continued preaching so fiercely against the light of Christ Jesus, "calling it natural" that he finally cursed the light, "fell down as dead in his pulpit" and afterwards never regained his sanity.[1]

3. Christ the Seed, has reference to redemptive history in accordance with the Genesis accounting of the "seed of the woman" bruising the serpent's head, and the call to Abraham, "because thou has obeyed by voice, all nations of the earth shall be blessed in thy seed." So, explains Fox,

> the promise was not to seeds, as many, but unto one seed, which is Christ; which seed bruises the head of the serpent.
>
> And so all people and nations must be in this seed, as they have been in the seed of the serpent, which brought the curse, woe, and misery, and darkness upon mankind, if they have the blessing and promise.[2]

The term has reference to election, and will be

---

[1] Ibid., pp. 318-19; 1657.

[2] GTD, Works, V, 266-67, from an account with the informative title, "The spiritual Man Christ Jesus, the Blessed Seed, Light of Life, Purger of Conscience, Healer of Nations, and Restorer of Mankind."

discussed in the next section of this chapter.

4. Christ the Life is descriptive of the moral and spiritual authentication of God in man's life. This is the state into which the Restored are brought from the the bondage of sin and death. The destroyer of life is conquered by the Seed and life springs up.[1] This, too, is descriptive of redemptive history and will be discussed in the next section of the present chapter.

It is evident that Fox holds a unitary view of the Historic and the Inward Christ that both extends the Puritan emphasis upon Christ in experience and also deepens the expression of Christ in terms of history. His efforts to coalesce the two met with much misunderstanding, excess, and abuse. But the abuse was not because they preached an <u>experiential</u> relationship. Puritan thought was replete with the doctrine of inward Christianity. Sermons and journals attest to this. As Hancock has pointed out, "Owen, Howe, Goodwin, Bunyan, and the whole school of the Puritans, believed that Christ was <u>within them</u>, resisting <u>their</u> most inward sins."[2]

The mysticism of Fox was evangelical in nature. And the problem of harmonizing contemporary religious experience with Jesus of Nazareth (a problem puzzling modern Quakers more than it did Fox) was met by revela-

---

[1]See the <u>Journal</u>, p. 13; also pp. 16-17; 1647.

[2]Hancock, <u>The Peculium</u>, p. 38.

tion. Nuttall makes the distinction between Quaker thought and inward religion of either the Boehme-type of mysticism or the Cambridge Platonist-type of rationalism to rest in this, that neither of the latter had a Christian doctrine of the Holy Spirit.[1]

Fox held to traditional theology consistently. Efforts to indicate that he was trying to force an alien doctrine of God into the narrow, cramped Christian vocabulary of his times only confuse the issue. The "orthodoxy" of the letter to the governor of the Barbadoes has been assailed as utterly un-Foxian.[2] But this document, which has appeared in Friends' Disciplines as an important formulation of beliefs, is only a slightly more formal presentation of the views Fox has written elsewhere. The transcendence of God, the virgin-birth of Jesus, the life, death, resurrection of Jesus, his sufficiency as redeemer and saviour, his mediatorship, his lordship, his position as Judge, the Scriptures as the "words of God,-- all these appear from selections given above.[3] Fox's uncompromising

---

[1] Nuttall, Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith, pp. 16-18.

[2] The Journal, p. 602ff. This sentence catches the heart of Fox's message: "He it is [Jesus Christ] that is now come and hath given us an understanding that we may know him that is true; and to rule in our hearts even with his law of love and of life. . . which makes us free from the law of sin and death." For a discussion of Rufus Jones' criticism of this document as being out of character see Edward Mott, Sixty Years of Gospel Ministry (Portland, Ore., private publication, 1947),pp. 98-99. He cites the criticism as it appeared in the London Friend (September 1924).

[3] Cf. especially "What we Believe of Christ", GTD, Works, V, 84ff.

attitude toward oaths, hat honor, and his willingness to suffer for his principles forbids the accusation that he, with other first generation Quakers, felt like they should ally themselves with the accepted religious truths in hopes that by so doing "men might be induced to step from the common doctrinal type of Christianity to the higher conception which the Friends believed they held."[1]

Fox did not want to destroy doctrines but to give them life and restoration to their proper place. The sin was not "professing" but "professing without possessing." He calls upon all men, "whether Jews, Turks, christians, or heathens" to know "that there is no salvation in any other name under heaven, whereby they must be saved, but 'in the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, which was crucified without the gates of Jerusalem, whom God hath raised up from the dead,'"[2]

The primary reason for abuse from his contemporaries, from the religious standpoint, was because of his teaching regarding salvation of man. This involves his universalism and his perfectionism.

---

[1]Arthur J. Mekeel, Quakerism and a Creed (Philadelphia: Friends Book Store, 1936), p. 15.

[2]GTD, Works, V, 87-89; cf. VI, 378. William Wistar Comfort writes, concerning Fox's religious experience: "There are two features. . .which must be emphasized: to those who are seeking a faith, it must come alone from Christ Jesus, by whom Fox meant the eternal Word of God, manifested in time by the historical Jesus. . . and by direct revelation in human experience," Quakers in the Modern World (New York: Macmillan, 1949), pp. 15-16.

George Whitehead's Epistle prefacing Fox's Epistles, Works, Vol. VII, is an early vindication of Fox's orthodoxy.

By Effecting the Restoration of Man

The Church that comes by revelation of God and in the power of Jesus Christ calls men out of the world by a restoration of their spiritual natures. This salvation breaks the circle of Adamic death to restore the image of God lost in the Fall. Christ is restoring, and he will finally restore all things.[1] The primitivism of Fox appears in both his experiences and his teachings. The "Flaming Sword" vision brings him into the "paradise of God" where all things were new and creation itself had a new smell.[2] Christ confronts men in his living presence in as real a way as he once confronted the world in his flesh. He was crucified without the gates of Jerusalem, but is risen. He "remains in the heavens until the restitution of all things," and men cannot now reach him to harm him, but in crucifying him to themselves afresh they only reject their needed salvation.[3]

It is with what happens in the soul of man that Fox is concerned. He will not rest upon drama or legal fiction in the meeting of sin. Here is his pattern of God restoring a people unto himself. Man lost the image of God in the garden of Eden. From this came transgression,

---

[1] GTD, Works, VI, 174ff; V, 150. [2] Supra, p. 25.

[3] GTD, Works, V, 201.

at the instigation of the devil, through the disobedience of Adam. Adam and Eve "would be wiser. . . than God, who had made and taught them."[1] Law came to restrain men from sin. But it could not deal with the root of sin but only with the actions. In disobedience man persists in imitating the Creator, making "images and representations." Christ destroyed death with his works and takes away the root of sin, renewing man again in the image of God. The legitimate types of the Old Testament are no longer necessary, for the image is restored. Thus,

> in the restoration of Christ Jesus there is no image, no likeness, no representation, who are brought by Christ into the image of God, as was Adam and Eve, before the fall.[2]

His doctrine of the restoration is strongly dualistic. Really a double dualism, of existences and dispensations. First there are distinctions drawn between "the living God of truth" and "the world's god (the devil)", between fallen, sinful nature and the sanctified nature; the seed of the serpent, and the Seed of God; shadow and substance; darkness and light; election and reprobation; deceit and truth; and the false church and the true Church. Then there are distinctions drawn between the two suppers, the two baptisms, the two covenants, the two tabernacles. The dualisms are not eternal; they are eliminated in Christ. Over the first he brings victory; over the second, com-

---

[1] Ibid., VI, 11.

[2] See Ibid., IV, "A Hammer to Break down all Invented Images", 366-69, and also VI, "Living God of Truth", 3ff.

pletion.[1] Christ brings all into unity, a unity which is volitional and not contemplative.[2] It is a unity which is restored by the love of God ("that love let me see myself as I was without him"[3]) bringing the gospel fellowship with God and with men. This "fellowship of the mystery" is the Church.[4] When a Roman priest asked Fox what brought salvation in his Church, the Quaker replied:

> The same that brought salvation to the Church in the apostles' days. . . which is the grace of God . . . which hath appeared unto all men; which taught the saints and teaches us then and now. . . . So it is not good works, nor good life, that brings salvation, but the grace.[5]

Fox's emphasis is consonant with the contention of his worthy debating opponent, Roger Williams, that the main controversy is in regard to salvation from sin.[6] Fox's doctrine of salvation may well be considered as an exten-

---

[1]Howard Brinton, Friends for 300 Years, pp. 21-22, believes Fox was more of a philosopher than a theologian in the matter of this dualism of existences; but he suggests that "as prophet, Fox followed the Hebrew tradition, bearing witness to a personal God whose prophets are instruments [of] . . . His will. As philosopher, Fox followed the Hellenic tradition, apprehending the inner Unity which exists beyond time and space." Brinton does not distinguish between the two types of dualism.

[2]Theodor Sippell, Werdendes Quäkertum (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1937, writes: "Die Einigung mit der Gottheit vollzieht sich nicht auf dem Gebiet der Physic ('Mystik des substanziellen Gottesgefühls'), sondern in der Sphäre des Willen. Der innere Christus ist der Christus non otiosus der reformierten Dogmatik." p. 102.

[3]The Journal, pp. 11-12; 1647.

[4]GTD, Works, VI, 229-30.

[5]The Journal, pp. 529-30; 1668.

[6]Williams, George Fox Digg'd Out, Preface.

, 36

sion of the Puritan doctrine of election and of inward personal religious experience. It is by virtue of his salvation doctrines of universalism and perfectionism that Fox's teachings most severly clash with that of his contemporaries.

The essence of his doctrine of election is that "the election is in Christ," and hence the term "universalism" must be considered to relate only to the witness of God, in man, and not necessarily to the reception of that witness. His words are:

> . . . the ordination, as you call it, to condemnation and judgment, is upon man's disobedience and rebellion against God's good spirit, and his unbelief in God and Christ.
>
> For this condemnation comes not upon them that believe, and that obey the spirit of God either in the times of the law, or of the gospel, nor before the blood. . . . both Jews and christians, not keeping their habitations in the old and new covenant, have come under the condemnation. And Adam and Eve, keeping not their habitation, brought condemnation upon themselves and all mankind: even so by the righteousness of one, (to wit, Christ,) the free gift of God came upon all men unto justification of life.[1]

Christ is the Seed, the promise of whose coming brought salvation in the Old Covenant, and the receiving of whom in his Life in the New Covenant overcomes the "body of sin and death." All may witness the Seed; he will "bruise the serpent's head in every one of you."[2]

It is God's election, to choose Christ in whom there is possible salvation. Redemptive history is the struggle

---

[1] GTD, Works, V, 383, see also VI, 9, 14.

[2] Epis. 130, Works, VII, 124.

of the two seeds, in which man, the sinner, is defeated; but he has no excuse for final defeat because Christ the good Seed brings salvation to those who will believe.[1] There is an element of forgiveness, although it does not play as important a part with Fox as restoration. It is a tribute to God's love that the Seed is given. It is his promise. Thus God elects universally. The ocean of light which overcomes the ocean of darkness is the "infinite love of God" which triumphs over the hurtful things which spring from within the hearts and minds of wicked men.[2] Salvation is thus thought of as coming from the active choice of God. John 3: 16, and John 1: 9, the "Quaker text" were adduced as clear scriptural evidence that there is no arbitrary election.

Fox's thought is a protest against the tendency of Calvinism to identify a certain group as the special, arbitrarily-selected spiritual Israel. For Fox the Jewish nation "held the figures and types of Christ the substance, the new covenant," who is now given to all the nations that "they might be partakers of the substance."[3]

He writes:

> For God hath made all nations of men of one flesh, blood and mould, and would have them all to repent, and live to Christ; for they all died in Adam, and their minds are reprobated from God; but the election

---

[1]See especially his treatise, "Election and Reprobation", GTD, Works, V, pp., 381-406. Cf. Epis. 98, Works, VII, 102-3. Actually, the term "seed" for the reprobation, or "first birth" is not used as frequently as the term is used for Christ.

[2]The Journal, p. 19; 1647. [3]GTD, Works, V, 391.

> is in Christ, his grace: and so it lies in the two seeds, and not in persons, as the apostles plainly sets forth and discovers, who speaks of the nature of Cain, Ishmael, and Esau to be in the Jews and gentiles long after they were dead, which must be cast out.[1]

The evil seed, or "first birth", has its weapons and its ways and its religions. The "world's god" maintains his religion by "carnal weapons" whose sting Fox felt in all its fury. It is worship of man's will, a doctrine of works rather than of grace. But those "who are grafted into Christ Jesus, and receive the grace and the spirit, in their own hearts will. . . know their election before the world began" in this seed Christ Jesus, who "is the election and the blessing, who is the amen, the first and the last, and over all, hallelujah, blessed forever; glory to the Lord God amen, halleluhah."[2]

Thus in Fox's thought the "world's god" is a usurper. As he had a beginning, so this destroyer and prince of darkness "must have an end in the lake of fire, and all his followers, if they turn not from him, and obey the living God."[3] Unbelief, or failure to give Christ, the redeeming Seed, the pre-eminence is the essential sin.[4] Hell, for Fox is the end for those in the way of death, as heaven is for those in the way of life. He admonished his co-workers in the Barbadoes to teach the slaves (as part of

---

[1] Ibid., 397. [2] Ibid, 406; Cf. Romans 9: 5.

[3] Ibid., VI, 15.

[4] See Fox's conversion experience, the Journal, p. 15; 1647.

the larger family for whom Friends were to assume responsibility) of heaven and hell.[1] To the specific question, "Whether there be any heaven or hell, for the elect or reprobate after death, but in man in this life, or not?" Fox replied:

> There is no knowledge of heaven or hell, but through death: "The wicked shall be turned into hell, and all them that forget God," there to be tormented. There is a hell, thou shalt find it.[2]

Fox does not, then, simply make the election and reprobation to be the arbitrary choice of certain individuals for honor and certain for dishonor. What is reprobated is actually bad, and what is elected is actually good. Man's freedom lies in his belief in God's revelation through Christ or in his delusion by the Devil, the "world's god." It is a question of true religion versus false religion. And yet the struggle is not only in the soul. That is, Fox maintains a type of transcendence. Adam, the first man, is not simply the evil principle. It is not Adam-Devil versus Christ-new man, as with Winstanley.[3] A real Fall, in history, and a real Restoration, in history, make possible inward experience, for Fox.

Fox is attempting to show, by this doctrine of election and reprobation, that God's love extends to all, that all are dependent upon God for salvation, and that man has a certain choice which makes him responsible.

---

[1] Ibid., p. 605. [2] MGW, Works, III, 597.

[3] See "The New Law of Righteousnes", Works, ed. Sabine, esp. p. 173-79 in Chap. IV. See Fox, GTD, Works, VI, 428.

The Seed, Christ, is sufficient for salvation.[1]

Fox seems to deny freedom of will which would appear essential to escape either a concept of the "Divine decrees", on the one hand, or a concept of a necessary universal salvation, on the other. He denies free will as an assertion of human nature, which is disobedient; for he accepts no freedom to effect, or to allow, the results of choice. There is only one effective will, God's. He writes:

> Now do not think that I hold free will here, man's free will, I speak of that which is contrary to man's will, and loving the light it will keep your wills from running, and your wills from willing any thing, and keep them in subjection. . .[2]

Will has an assertive, powerful nature. There are only two powers active, God's and the devil's; and God's power is "atop" the devil's. Man has the capacity to respond to God either by love or hate. This is man's activity toward Christ who comes not at all by man's choosing but as a gift to all from God. The figure of a candle is used by Fox to illustrate this. Man's spirit is the candle. God lights it and sets it in the candlestick, which is man's "body, mind, soul, and conscience." With this light man "may see Christ that died for them, and is risen for them," and come "to be grafted into Christ the word. . ."[3]

---

[1]There is no distinction between universal and saving grace, as in the Westminster Confession. See King, George Fox and the Light Within, pp. 58-59, for discussion on this point. Cf. also Barclay, Apology, props. V. and VI.

[2]GTD, Works, IV, 20.

[3]Ibid., V, 346-47. He uses Prov. 20: 27, Ex. 30, and Luke 15; 8-10.

41

To "put a bushel over it" is to hate and reject the light and to be in the reprobation. Such response is to turn God's grace into "wantonness," and "the candles of those wicked are put out."[1]

Those who are gathered in the power of Jesus Christ are not called because they as individuals have been selected so much as that Christ has been chosen. Those who become the elect by being grafted onto Christ have made a real response to align themselves with God's choice. Fox is bringing a greater emphasis upon Christology, in terms of election, than his contemporaries. Aimed at preserving respect for the holiness of God and instilling responsibility upon man before God, Fox's doctrine of election in the Seed is an extension of the scope of salvation as his doctrine of perfection is an extension of the intensity of salvation in moral and ethical terms.

Perfection is the effect of the restoration of man to God through the Seed. The blood of Christ was the life given for the world, believed Fox, and he rebuked those who would curb its power to be the life of the world.[2] The gathering of the Church is a restoration to holiness, thought Fox, and that which the people trampled upon, the life of Christ, was to be his message to proclaim.[3]

Fox's doctrine of perfection lays claim to a realization of the results of Christ's atonement in terms

---

[1] Ibid. [2] Ibid., p. 23; 1648. [3] Ibid., p. 19; 1647.

of present life. It has already been noted that one of his chief indictments of apostasy was that Protestants preached up sin by dint of "a body of sin to the grave" and the Roman church provided a purgatorial cleansing.[1] Such preaching, he thought, makes "Christ's dying in vain, and the one offering of no value, which hath perfected for ever all them that are sanctified, and his blood of none effect, which cleanseth from all sin."[2]

Man is enlightened that he may be restored to the image of God, that he may come "to the second Adam, from the first Adam" to have his sins and transgressions blotted out.[3] He writes, again:

> . . . dwelling in this light, it will discover to thee the body of sin, and thy corruptions, and fallen estate, where thou art, and multitude of thoughts. . . here thou wilt find a saviour, and the election thou wilt come to know, and the reprobation, and what is cast from God, and what enters. . . .
>
> And the church in God. . . are they who are born again of the immortal seed, by the word of God, which lives and endures for ever. . . which word became flesh, and dwelt among us; so he (Christ) is the head of the church, and they are lively stones.[4]

It is apparent that Fox shared the Puritan view of the depravity of man to the extent that he believed that man without God's grace could not be saved. He discovered evil to be the basic issue to be conquered and found its fortress in the heart. The very idea of a Restoration supposes a fallen, sinful nature. This nature is described variously as "the body of sin and

---

[1] *Supra*, p.68ff. [2] *GTD*, *Works*, IV, 128.

[3] *Ibid.*, 127. [4] *Ibid.*, 128.

death", the "devil's dregs", the "devil's works", "imperfection", "the bad, cursed state", "the fallen estate", and "the state of Adam in the fall."[1]

Such is essentially a doctrine of original sin in which arbitrary election and imputed righteousness are cast aside as unworthy and replaced by election in Christ and imparted righteousness. The righteousness which comes, according to Fox, is the infusion of a new principle of life in the believer; "they who witness Christ within, witness the end of imputation, they witness the thing itself, the end of their belief. . ."[2] A Fall which is significant morally can be answered only by a Restoration which is as significant morally. Only by this can one understand a real Atonement.[3] If there were no sanctifying power in the Atonement, anyone might claim to be a Christian, believed Fox. Such a person is "a vain man in a dead faith" who knows no victory over the conditions of depravity.[4]

---

[1]See Ibid., 125ff; III, 267-71; VI, 438ff; and the Journal, p. 56; 1650, p. 117; 1652, p. 167; 1653, and passim.

[2]MGW, Works, III, 269.

[3]Ibid., 121. Rufus M. Jones asserts that while Barclay "goes back to the accepted dogma about man," "Fox emphatically belongs in the anti-Augustinian movement," Introduction, Braithwaite, Second Period of Quakerism, xxxiv. He declares, too, regarding the five-fold Calvinistic doctrine of transcendence, creation at a specific time, fall of man, Scriptural infallibility, and vicarious atonement, that "at every point George Fox broke with that system of doctrine," The Trail of Life in the Middle Years (Macmillan, 1934), p. 54. I cannot accept his claims to warranted by the facts.

[4]GTD, Works, 444-45.

Fox will have no salvation by legal fiction; but he will have salvation! And life is no infinity of dull grey in which God moves uncertainly.[1] The "first principle of religion" for him is purification, purging, cleansing of the sinful nature.[2] "Justification and sanctification are one," he writes, "not two things really distinct in their nature, but really one; for Christ. . . is he that sanctifies and justifies."[3]

It is Christ who sanctifies, "by his blood and fiery baptism;" "it cost him his blood to purchase man out of this state he is in, in the fall, and bring him up to the state man was in before he fell."[4]

It is this restoration to communion with God that is the essence of Fox's teaching regarding perfection. Relationship, not understanding or attainment is indicated. This is the uniting of persons to Christ as the head of the body--the Church. "For after the old man is crucified," he writes, "and the body of death and sins of the flesh put off, the saints bodies are the members of Christ."[5]

The following paragraph well indicates Fox's em-

---

[1]See Cecil Eugene Hinshaw, "Perfectionism in Early Quakerism" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Iliff School of Theology, Denver, 1943), p. 94ff.

[2]GTD, Works, IV, 16. [3]MGW, Works, III, 487.

[4]GTD, Works, V, 270-71. Cf. VI, 436ff. Robert Newton Flew, The Idea of Perfection in Christian Theology (London: Oxford University, 1934), p. 291, writes that the "chief distinction of the Quaker doctrine of perfection was its centre. . . in the Cross of Christ."

[5]GTD, Works, VI, 445.

phasis upon restored individuals composing the Church:

> Ye that know the power of God and are come to it, which is the cross of Christ, that crucifies you to the state that Adam and Eve were in in the fall, and so to the world, by this power of God ye come to see the state. . . before they fell. . . . Through this power of God ye come to . . . an higher state, to the Seed Christ, the Second Adam, by whom all things were made. For man hath been driven from God. But it is said, "The church is in God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ:" so who come to the church. . . must come to God again. . . into the true holiness, the image of God, and out of the earth whither man hath been driven. . . . The way to this is Christ, the Light, the Life, the Truth, the Saviour, the Redeemer, the Sanctifier, and the Justifier, in and through whose power, light, and life, conversion, regeneration, and translation is known from death to life, from darkness to light, and from the power of satan to God again. These are members of the true church, who know the work of regeneration in the operation and feeling of it; and being come to be members of the church of God, they are indeed members one of another in the power of God, which was before the power of darkness was.[1]

Along with many others in the radical wing of seventeenth century Puritanism, Fox needed no outward baptism to evidence conversion to God.[2] Christ, himself was the Anointing.[3] Christ's Baptism is with the Holy Spirit. He writes:

> So all must be baptized with the baptism of Christ, with fire and the Holy Ghost; and all their disobedience, transgression, sin and corruption, and their chaff must be plunged down and burnt up by the baptism of Christ, before they can come into the paradise of God, and have right to eat of the tree

---

[1] Ellwood Journal, Works, I, 250; 1656. See abridged version in the Journal, p. 272.

[2] Cf. William Dell, The Doctrine of Baptisms, etc. (Fifth edition, London, 1759), who affirms Spirit Baptism the only one for the New Testament. It gives a new nature, a new name, a new world. "Where the Substance comes the Shadow is at an End," p. 43. See pp. 34ff.

[3] GTD, Works, IV, 127.

of life.[1]

For Fox, Christ is the real presence in the New covenant. Christians live under his leadership and nations under his "rod of iron." He is priest, mediator, redeemer, Lord, and ruler. He authenticates his fulfilment of the types of the Old Testament in his cleansing baptism. Fox deals with this in a long treatise on "A Clear Distinction between the Old Covenant. . . and the New Covenant." The bread, the wine, the milk, the honey, trumpets, bells, and all such apurtenances to the gathering of the people in the outward tabernacle to worship God in holiness are no longer needed, for

> all those outward things Christ abolished, which served but till the seed came to reform it; and in the time of the reformation of Christ, the heavenly and spiritual man, he reforms his believers and followers out of the natural, outward, and carnal, into the heavenly, inward, and spiritual.[1]

This Baptism with the Holy Spirit was the one baptism which Fox confessed, before his questioners.[2] As has been shown, he rejected infant baptism as unscriptural and adult baptism as belonging to another dispensation.[3] Those who know Christ's baptism "are the wheat gathered into God's garner"[4] safe from the destroyer, because sin and corruption is purged.[5] Christianity is in "heaps" and confusion, believes Fox, because of "so

---

[1] Ibid., VI, 68; also 38-77.

[2] See the Journal, p. 134; 1652, also, 45-6, 51.

[3] Supra, p. 58. [4] GTD, Works, VI, 240-41.

[5] Ibid., see also 288-95.

many baptisms," i.e., many requirements for admission into the Church. What is needful is "the one baptism with the one spirit, which plunges down the corruption. . . and bringeth into the one body and to the one head Christ."[1]

Because the Church is made up of the wheat and the world is made up of the tares, fighting and jangling of "sect" and "mass-house" indicate impurity. The Church of God, gathered in Jesus' name is chosen and it is holy.[2]

Fox's perfectionism ran head on into opposition, mainly over the matter of infallibility. This was the question, really, of authority, a question of supreme importance to seventeenth century England.[2] Blast was met by counter-blast. The pages of the Mistery of the Great Whore show that Fox's answers are given with a great deal of vigor.[3] He writes, "That which perfects the saints is infallible; that gift which was given to the ministry is infallible and immediate; that which edifies the body of Christ is infallible and immediate. . ."[4] Fox thought it impugned the character of God and the work of Christ to charge fallibility, so certain was he of the revelation which he had received. Accused of popery, he denied that the pope was in the infallible spirit--he was obviously apostate as his fruits revealed.[5] Fox's argument is this:

---

[1] Ibid., IV, 298-302. [2] Ibid., V, 121-22.

[3] E.g., MGW, Works, III, 191-92.

[4] Ibid., 195. [5] Ibid., 76.

certainty of salvation and discernment of the will of God can only be given (revealed) from God. The only contact is in personal, present experience, but it is saved from subjectivism by the unity of inspiration in redemptive history, by the constancy of God, and by the real presence of Christ in the soul of the believer. Restoration to perfection is the placing of man once more in the will and image of God.[1] Conversion to God was radical to the extent that members of the Church were, in a sense, to all be prophets before the Lord.

This aspect of perfectionism shows that Fox was separated by a narrow but deep ditch from the Ranters. He asked a group of them, who closely identified themselves with God, "if they knew whether it would rain tomorrow," in an attempt to show that perfection lay not in assuming God's knowledge, but in accepting what God reveals of his will.[2] The mystery of the relationship of the one restored and God lay in transference, not accomodation; in Christ, not in man; in will, not in essence.[3] "We are nothing, Christ is all," is Fox's answer to those who charged him with identifying himself with Christ.[4]

---

[1] Ibid., 76-77, 191-92, is the basis for this reconstruction.

[2] The Journal, p. 47; 1649. Cf. his commentary on Romans 12: 3, in which he cautions against presuming to understand beyond the measure of faith and grace which God has given, GTD, Works, V, 245-46.

[3] Cf. Sippell, Werdendes Quakertum, p. 103, "Grundzug der quakerischen Mystik ist voluntaristisch."

[4] The Journal, p. 52; 1650, Derby imprisonment.

The psychological nature of the conversion, or restoration experience for George Fox was that of agonizing uncertainty, exuberant joy in the revelation of God, a period of doubt, and finally victory. After victory, or the new birth, came a life of walking in holiness as befitting a child of light.[1] To those who were seeking by introspection to find assurance of their election, Fox had an answer. Puritan "wayfaring and warfaring" had for him a destination and a victory in this life as well as in the next. He writes:

> And this is the way of the wayfaring men, who have been wayfaring up and down from religion to religion, from worship to worship, from one people to another, from one minister and teacher to another, and could not sit down in any of their ways, but way-fared, travelled and sought. And now, glory be to the Lord for ever, thousands of these way-faring men are come to find their way, Christ Jesus, and, though fools, yet shall not err therein. . . . They shall not err in Christ Jesus, for there is no error in him. . . . So though they be called fools. . . by all the sons of Adam, that are set down in their own rudiments, and have persecuted these way-faring men as fools, because they would not sit down with them in their rudiments, worships, self-righteousness, and national church. . . yet those wayfaring men walk on in their way. . . counted fools for Christ's sake.[2]

And again, "if you do pretend a warfare, without the light of Christ, and his faith and spirit of grace, which brings salvation, and overcomes, and is the victory . . . that is the blind man's war."[3]

Fox pinned his trust on neither Commonwealth nor King but upon Christ's restoration of man to holiness.

---

[1] Ibid., see chaps. 1 and 2, up through 1648. The moral and ethical implications of perfectionism will be treated in the following chapter, infra., p. 146ff.

[2] Epis. 260, Works, VII, 313. [3] GTD, Works, VI, 414.

Summary

Fox considered that the True Church is gathered out of the world through the revelation of God, which includes both redemptive history as portrayed in the inspired Scriptures and present experience authenticated by the same Holy Spirit. The True Church is gathered in the power of Jesus Christ, whose atoning death and mediatorship and whose life-bestowing resurrection are effective for salvation to those who accept him as he comes as the Word of God, and the Inward Light. Man is restored by Christ who is the Seed which God has elected to destroy the evil nature in the heart. Fox enlarged the doctrine of election into a kind of universalism whereby the election is in Christ, who enlightens all men, who may respond with either love or rejection. Christ as the Life is an extension of the salvation experience to a perfectionism in which the sinful nature is purged by the baptism with the Holy Spirit. Christ, the head of the Church, is the real presence in those who are really restored to holiness which is not imputed nor inherent, The mark of the conversion experience is victory.

CHAPTER V

THE CHURCH IN THE WORLD

George Fox had confidence that it was the purpose of God not only to restore to individuals the lost image of God but also to restore the unity of persons through "the true church faith."[1] Unity with God, with the scriptures, and with one another is the cry of this reformer, who lived in one of the most disunited periods of modern history.[2] It is evident from the frequent use he makes of the word "church" that Fox is conscious of it as a vital concept. In the prededing chapters his beliefs about the apostate church and about the way restoration comes have been shown. But the sharp division that is drawn between the false and the true Church asserts a radical separation of the righteous from the wicked. The isolation of the one who has followed the Light of Christ from the one who rejects the Light is a spiritual one. It is necessary to discern the relationship of these restored ones to the world in which they still live. As Fox pointed out, way-faring tearfully through life is not a part of the experience of those who are restored to the state of Christ.[3] It is, therefore, the more incumbent

---

[1] GTD, Works, IV, 302. [2] Ibid.

[3] Supra, p. 122.

upon him to make clear how the wheat and the tares are to be distinguished and how they are to grow together.

A Gospel Fellowship

> . . . they come to the church that is in God, and the fellowship which is the gospel fellowship, which is the power of God, in which is stability. . . . In this is the church fellowship with Christ in God, which will stand; for the gospel is everlasting; the church of God is the pillar and ground of truth.[1]

The spiritual unity of Christians is an emphasis of Fox's that can hardly be overstated. Unity is the distinguishing mark of the Church; under Christ "all the brethren who are in the spirit are one. . . ye are all one, if ye be ten thousand."[2]

It is Christ, the light, that brings to unity.[3] His baptism into the one spirit is the common experience which brings men to "this spiritual fellowship, which is the true church-fellowship, even the church which is in God."[4]

"The pillar and ground of truth" is Fox's common definition of the Church in metaphysical terms;[5] and "fellowship," "church-fellowship," or "gospel fellowship" define the Church in sociological terms.[6]

---

[1]Epis. 222, Works, VII, 228. Italics mine. This is a general epistle which was sent out, in 1662, to "all the christian meetings in the world," by which he meant "Quaker."

[2]Epis. 46, Ibid., 58. [3]GTD, Works, IV, 43.

[4]Epis. 372, Works, VII, 206.

[5]Especially in the Epistles, but see Journal, p. 24.

[6]Especially in the Epistles.

Baxter had warned the Quakers that "if there be no Church there is no Christ."[1] Fox was conversely certain that if there be no Christ there is no Church; and in a sharp epistle, written ten years before, declared that "the world would have a Christ, but not to rule over them."[2] One of the constituent elements of the gospel fellowship, then, was that the individual, restoring, experiences of Christ had a common bond. Members of the true Church must be known to each other through the mystery of the new birth and in the leadership of the One Christ.[3] Such "convinced" persons do not need an outward cross of wood or stone to remind them, they "feel Christ and his Cross;"[4] nor do they need to idolize "temples" and "steeplehouses", for the Church "is the people which Christ is the head of."[5]

This element of the common bond between saint and saint is only one part of Fox's view of the Church as a group enterprise. The mystics and "spiritual" stressed this non-sacramental approach; Dell concluded that "the true Church is not an outward and visible society or corporation. . . it is wholly a spiritual and invisible society."[6] The danger is that such mysticism becomes individualistic and sacrifices fellowship, as

---

[1] *True Catholic*, cited by More, *Anglicanism*, p. 84.

[2] Epis. 2, *Works*, VII, 17; 1652.

[3] Ellwood *Journal*, I, 249; 1656. Cf. *Journal*, p. 283

[4] Epis. 100, *Works*, VII, 104. [5] *Journal*, p. 107.

[6] William Dell, *The Way to True Peace and Unity in the True Church of Christ* (Sermons series, London: 1652), p. 157.

Troeltsch has pointed out.[1] The heavy emphasis upon fellowship indicates that Fox sought to avoid such. The second constituent element of the gospel fellowship is that there is outward recognition of the Church which has been gathered in the name and power of Jesus. Fox does not limit himself to an invisible Church. Entrance into the holiness of the Church may be mysterious but participation must be obvious. Fox writes:

> And it was declared both to professors, priests, and people how that their houses called churches were more like Jeroboam's calf-houses even the old mass-houses which they had set up in the dark times of popery which they still held up, which God never commanded; for that temple which God had commanded at Jerusalem Christ came to end. And they that believed in him, their bodies came to be the temples of God and Christ and the Holy Ghost, for them to dwell in them and walk in them. All such were gathered into the name of Jesus, whose name was above every name, and there was no salvation by any other name under the whole heaven but by the name of Jesus. And these met together in several dwelling-houses which were not called the temple nor the church, but their bodies were the temples of God and the believers were the Church which Christ was the head of. So Christ was not called the head of an old house which was made by men's hands, neither did he come to purchase and sanctify and redeem with his blood an old house which they called their church, but the people which he is the head of.[2]

Fox was trying to avoid institutionalism but he did think in terms of a kind of organism. The Church is a real functioning body of persons, united in Christ who leads them.[3] He does not hesitate to call the Quak-

---

[1]Troeltsch, Social Teaching, II, 999.

[2]The Journal, pp. 125-26; 1652.

[3]Shideler, "Spiritual Ecclesiology", "The Church was not only the communion of saints in idea; it was the communion of saints in fact for Fox," p. 40.

ers "the elect seed of God."[1] He is not thinking of the denomination but of the movement toward what he considered the restoration of men into a holy fellowship. As his preaching pointed men to Christ, the light, who redeemed and restored, Fox certainly came to feel that the establishment of meetings "for the converted and elect" was but the re-establishment of the primitive Christian community.[2] The idea of the Covenant gives to Fox a sense of corporeality; the law of God is written on hearts of men and his relationship to his people is a personal one.[3] Fox carries through the Jewish concept of the "chosen people" to its universalism in the Seed, Christ, in whom the election stands.[4] This gives to the Church as a spiritual body a manifest presence and witness in the world.

The catholicity of the Church is to be found in the universality of its Christ. Hence those who recognize his voice and see his light in all men, either to condemnation or to life, know that the true Church can only be composed of those who are gathered into a purified relationship with God. Such become the body of Christ and demonstrate what Fox calls the "precious

---

[1]The Journal, p. 281; 1656.

[2]See his preface to the Epistles, VII, 10-16.

[3]See "Concerning Jesus Christ the Covenant of God," Works, IV, 267ff.

[4]For his doctrine of election see supra, p. 109ff.

catholic faith."[1] As Christ, the head of the Church, gave his life for the sins of the whole world, and is risen, so the body of believers actualize in history, and in the world to come, the life of the resurrected Lord.[2] They are "sect-makers", declares Fox, who "imagine Christ died only for your own sects, and that God hath ordained of old the greatest part of mankind for hell;"[3] and they are apostate who have usurped the offices of Christ and persecuted in his name.[4] Fox clearly challenges Roman, Anglican, and Puritan concepts of the Church visible by maintaining that the holy fellowship can also be a visible gospel fellowship in which the Lord Christ Jesus comes "to teach his people himself."[5]

Gospel Order

As Shideler has pointed out, "a theory of the Church constituted by the working of the Spirit of God is easier to describe than to operate, as the Quakers soon discovered."[6] Quakerism arose as a reaction against forms of religion which appeared to stifle spiritual life. Fox had reached thousands in England who were drawn away from forms to Christ, the "substance". With the increase of numbers

---

[1] GTD, Works, V, 449. [2] Ibid., 450-51.

[3] Ibid., 223. [4] Ibid., 450-51.

[5] The Journal, p. 107; 1652, in a message to the Seekers at Sedbergh. The phrase appears often.

[6] Shideler, "Spiritual Ecclesiology", p. 13.

of people into the "true Church" the problems of outward administration multiplied. The Seekers who flocked into the Quaker fold were distrustful of external authority while the Ranters who came in had but "recently been rescued from naked individualism."[1] Fox was not the only determining voice in the development of polity. But it was he whose indominatible will produced a system of church government during the last part of the decade 1660-70.[2] It was in 1667 that Fox records in his Journal,

> And the Lord opened to me and let me see what I must do, and how I must order and establish the Men's and Women's Monthly and Quarterly Meetings in all the nation, and write to other nations, where I came not, to do the same.[3]

In the records that follow, Fox tells of his work in carrying out this design. This expression occurs: "established in the gospel order," or variants, "settled according to the gospel order in the power of God", and "the order of the Gospel was set up."[4]

The "gospel order" was an attempt, first of all, to provide an historical basis for authority in the Church. Consonant with the belief that God was restoring his image

---

[1] Lloyd, Quaker Social History, p. 19.

[2] Ibid., see chap. I. The entire book is helpful for a detailed account of the organizational development of the Quakers. See also Book II of Braithwaite, Second Period of Quakerism and the older treatment by Barclay, Societies of the Commonwealth, esp. chaps. XVI-XX.

[3] The Journal, p. 511. Cf. Epis. 308, Works, VIII, 59.

[4] The Journal, p. 513.

in men was Fox's belief that the Christian fellowship of his time was to be restored to the pattern given in apostolic times. "If we could own any outward place to be our mother Church," he told a Roman Catholic, "we would own outward Jerusalem; where Christ and the Apostle preached and suffered. . . where the first great conversion to Christianity was. . ."[1]

No man had commissioned George Fox to go out and evangelize the world. He was certain that God had: the life of Christ, trampled upon by others, was to be his message.[2] In the emotional fervency of Truth presented in a sermon several hours long, Francis Howgill might sincerely say of Fox, "this man speaks with authority;"[3] but when the Quaker leader insisted on separate Women's Meetings, his action appeared to be stubbornness mixed with poor exegesis (however practical the plan may have been).[4] This serves to point up the question of his own leadership in the Church of the Restoration. The viturperative Francis Bugg declared that Fox is a Moses, taking the place of Christ.[5] Actually, a better analogy would be to the Apostle Paul, for Fox went out to preach as

---

[1] Ibid., p. 530. [2] Ibid., p. 19; 1647.

[3] Ibid., p. 107; 1652.

[4] See Epis. 363, Works, VIII, 188ff. See also Lloyd, Quaker Social History, chap. VIII.

[5] Francis Bugg, The Pilgrim's Progress, from Quakerism, to Christianity, etc. (London: 1698), p. 131ff.

a directly-called apostle of Christ. His vindication of his faithfulness to the call is more than vaguely similar to that of the great apostle to the Gentiles in the "first great conversion to Christianity."[1]

It would be entirely too cynical to suggest that Fox sought an historical basis for Church authority only to enhance his own. However ignorant he may have been of prophetic souls who sensed God's appointment through the centuries of church history, Fox had a keen appreciation for an apostolate which has contemporary revelation of Eternal Truth. The Church must recognize those by whom God has spoken. Fox believed himself to be such an one. He writes,

> . . . the everlasting God. . . sent me forth by his everlasting power, first to declare his everlasting gospel, and then after people had received the gospel, I was moved to go through the nation, to advise them to set up the men's meetings, and the women's . . . . And this was the end, that all that had received the gospel, might be possessors of it, and of the gospel order, which is heavenly; and that all that had received Christ Jesus, might so walk in him, and possess his government in the church. . . . being heirs of Christ. . . and of his government.[2]

---

[1]See Epis. 308, Works, VIII, 61. "And you have known the manner of my life, the best part of thirty years since I went forth, and forsook all things; I sought not myself, I sought you and his glory that sent me; and when I turned you to him, that is able to save you, I left you to him: and my travels have been great, in hungers and colds. . . . And the prisons have been made my home a great part of my time, and in danger of my life, and in jeopardy daily. And amongst you I have made myself of no reputation. . . . With the low, I made myself low; and with the weak and feeble, I was as one with them. . . and so I passed through great sufferings in my body, as you have been sensible." Cf. 2 Corinthians 11.

[2]Ibid.

As apostacy marked the departure from the apostles in the days of the early Church, so the rejection of those whom God has called (Fox, especially) is to turn from the gospel order.[1]

The nature of this gospel order, which is inherited, and the mark of authority, from the Gospel, consists of the powers of the Apostolic Church. "All that were heirs of the power of God were to take their possession of the power of God, the gospel and its order," he wrote.[2] This included evangelization, ministry, worship, relief of suffering (the "necessities of the saints"), settling of differences, discipline of offenders (including the power of excommunication), and the regulation of social life of the community of Christ.

The forms which were established to coincide as closely as possible with this "gospel order" were a system of meetings. Prior to 1666, by which time persecution and schism had "made havoc" with the churches, a system of "particular", or local meetings, and "general", or area gatherings, obtained in which the traveling ministers by their presence or epistles aided the local overseers. A letter of advice from Fox shows his fatherly care, as he admonishes Friends not to wander about aimlessly in the ministry, not to deal in sharp bargains, to avoid "sleeping in your meetings" and to minister differently to

---

[1] Ibid., 60.

[2] The Journal, p. 517 and Fox's preface, Works, VII, 14.

to the world than to Friends.[1] Between 1667 and 1680 the grouping of particular meetings into "monthly meetings" and of representative "quarterly" and "yearly" meetings took place. The ministers had a general meeting in connection with the yearly meeting at London; and in addition, ministers in and around London met each Sunday morning before dispersing for services and also on Monday, forming what was called the "Second Day's Morning Meeting," which had oversight over the spoken and written ministry of Friends. The "Meeting for Sufferings" grew beyond the care, legal and physical, of those oppressed by the law. This weekly representative gathering became an executive body.

Thus arose an efficient organization patterned, according to Fox's views, at least, after the authority given to the apostolic Church, and providing a framework for the exercise of the powers of the Church.

The gospel order not only provided historical vindication for authority but it also served as a check to individualism. James Nayler's messianic entry into Bristol in 1656 really brought to the first crisis the problem of determining which revelations were of God and which were not. Nayler was a fervent, suffering companion of Fox; and he was an able disputant.[2] What Fox

---

[1]Epis. 131, Works VII, 126-29. I have made use of Lloyd, Quaker Social History, chap. I, in this summary.

[2]See the Journal, pp. 100-1, 119, 124, 131. See Braithwaite, Beginnings of Quakerism, chap. xi., for an extended account of "Nayler's Fall".

terms as "imaginations"[1] consisted of a kind of imitation of Jesus entry into Jerusalem. Extravagant homage was paid this prophet, as the followers spread garments before his horse and sang "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Israel." This whole extravaganza was meant, by Nayler, at any rate, as a sign of Christ's coming in the hearts of men. But it was viewed as blasphemy, and Nayler suffered the torture of having his tongue bored and being branded as a blasphemer.[2]

From the standpoint of authority, this affair represented misguided individualism. Signs there were among early Friends, and Fox, himself, five years earlier, had gone barefoot through Lichfield, crying "woe unto the bloody city. . .".[3] But Nayler's episode was considered to be adulatory toward man, and not God; and the over-zealous Friend later repented of his "outgoings" and returned to "Truth" again.[4] It represented a party spirit, for not one of the thousand Quakers of Bristol was connected with the proceedings;[5] and it is this spirit against which Fox labored. His account of contact with Nayler reads as follows:

> That night . . . I spoke with James Nayler, for I saw he was out and wrong and so was his company. Next day, being the First-day we went to the prison to visit the prisoners and had a meeting with them

---

[1]The Journal, p. 268.

[2]See Braithwaite, Beginnings of Quakerism, chap. xi.

[3]The Journal, p. 71. [4]Ibid., p. 269.

[5]Braithwaite, Beginnings of Quakerism, p. 253.

> in the prison; and I did admonish them. But James Nayler and some of them could not stay the meeting but kept on their hats when I prayed. And they were the first that gave that bad example amongst Friends. So after I had been warring with the world, now there was a wicked spirit risen up amongst Friends to war against.[1]

Whatever elements of conflicting personality between Fox and Nayler may have entered into the picture,[2] it may be asserted that while Fox, himself, had broken with the Church in the name of restoration from apostacy, he yet held strongly to the view that this movement was not a sect to be divided at the whim of individuals, but was of a unity which must not be torn by schism.[3]

The refusal of Nayler's party to take off their hats during Fox's prayer was a sign that they did not consider Fox's authority binding upon them. This "hat" question did not die with Nayler's repentance. In 1658 John Love was put to death in Rome, and his companion-missionary for the storming of the strongholds of the church apostate, John Perrot, was imprisoned by the Inquisitors because his highly imaginative temperament made them suspect he was mad.[4] On his return, he led

---

[1]The Journal, p. 268.

[2]Inferences might be drawn from Ibid., pp. 230, 268-69, and 290.

[3]Hancock, The Peculium, insists that Fox's main error was that he was schismatic. See chap. II

[4]The Inquisitors acted "with discrimination" in the opinion of Barclay, Societies of the Commonwealth, p. 430. See the Journal, p. 411; John Love is John Luffe. See account of Perrot in Braithwaite, Second Period of Quakerism, p. 228ff.

a revolt against the forms which Friends employed. Starting with a refusal to doff the hat during public prayer, the faction came to the point of wanting no meetings to be held unless under the "immediate" leading of the Lord. A pamphlet entitled "Some Breathings of Life from a Naked Heart," advocated immediate, individual leadings in all things.[1] Barclay calls this "the inroads of the Quietism of the Seekers combined with the views of the Ranters, which struck at the root of all Church order."[2]

Fox took a stern view of this action of Perrot: "I was moved to give forth a paper how the Lord would blast them all, both him and his followers, and that they should wither like grass on the house-top, and so they did. But others returned and repented."[3] In an epistle he writes:

> The first that got up into this posture of keeping on their hats in prayer against Friends, were the Ranters. The next was J(ohn) N(ayler) but he quickly, by the power of the Lord, saw it, and judged it; and the next was Jo. Perrot, whose end was according to his work, and so will those that continue in it. For the power of God is over them, and their dark, earthly spirit. . . . I had as lieve see a priest stand up in a meeting, as one of these dark, earthly spirits with their hats on their heads, when that Friends pray; . . . which had no more show of reverence to God (in that) than to a horse. . . . this spirit hath led people into a feignedness of love and liberty which the power and spirit of God cannot own.[4]

---

[1]William Salt, cited by Barclay, Societies of the Commonwealth, p. 431.

[2]Barclay, Societies of the Commonwealth, p. 432.

[3]The Journal, p. 411. Epis. 214, Works, VII, 213-14.

If one can ignore the abusive terms and the somewhat peremptory spirit of Fox,[1] he can detect the fear that the sheep which had been "gathered in the name and power of Jesus" might be lost from their Shepherd. Christ came to teach his people, himself, but the teaching was not only individual, it was also corporate. The Christian community, to whom is revealed both the grace and the government must avoid "loose" spirits. In a sense Fox was tossed between the antinomian quicksands of Ranterism[2] and the hard rock of the papacy, which Baxter accused Quakerism of being "a sly means" of restoring".[3]

Fox's concept of the gospel order was, in the third place, an attempt to formulate the authority in the Church on a universal basis. Fox saw the Church in world terms; and the missionary endeavors at home and abroad, which were fraught with danger and death, accentuated the sense of Church fellowship. The hanging of the Quakers on the Boston Common while he languished in Lancaster prison stirred him deeply. "I had a perfect sense of it, as though it had been myself, and as though the halter had been put about my neck," he wrote.[4] Therefore, when the "hat" controversy extended the problem of

---

[1]Lloyd, Quaker Social History, pp. 22-23, believes Penington's more calm advices, if heeded, would have saved much grief brought by a spirit too authoritarian.

[2]On the Ranters see supra, p. 34ff.

[3]He suggested that the vaunted "Spirit of Revelations" would soon be exchanged for that of the Pope. See Quakers Catechism, etc. (London: 1655).

[4]The Journal, p. 411.

authority, Fox wisely set up the system of meetings, mentioned earlier. There was decided reaction against Fox's authoritative leadership on the part of former Seeker communities of Westmorland, and in Wiltshire and Bristol. The "Wilkinson-Story Separation" is a sorry chapter in early Quaker history.[1] But for all its bitter personal attacks it served to test out and examine principles of centralized church polity whereby Quakerism was saved from a purely congregational form of government. The controversies started with the anonymous publication of Fox's advices for the conduct of the meetings, under the caption, "Canons and Institutions, drawn up and agreed upon by the General Assembly of Meeting of the Heads of the Quakers, etc., George Fox being their President."[2] Then followed, in 1673, William Mucklow's The Spirit of the Hat, which attacked the compulsion of "Foxonian-unity" and the assumption that "the Power of God in Friends" resided only in the ruling group of London ministers.[3] John Story and John Wilkinson, both prominent preachers, objected to the systematizing of government and especially to the prominence of Fox and his traveling ministers. They desired purely representative meetings, with no imposed authority.

---

[1]See Braithwaite, Second Period of Quakerism, chap. xi; also Lloyd, Quaker Social History, chap. 2; and Barclay, Societies of the Commonwealth, chaps. XVI, XVIII.

[2]The substance of these advices, along with other words of Fox on such matters, is found in Epis. 264, Works, VII, 331ff.

[3]Lloyd, Quaker Social History, p. 26.

The separate Women's meetings provided a target for attack, and much of Fox's rebuttal consists in defense of his arrangement. As the the first man and woman were help-meets "to subdue the earth," so, thinks Fox, they are now help-meets in the restoration. He writes from Swarthmore in 1675:

> . . . keep his gospel-fellowship and order; so that men and women may be meet-helps, in the distinct men and women's meetings, one unto another in the gospel, the power of God, in the restoration. . . so if men have anything to communicate unto the women, or the women any thing to the men, in the righteousness, and wisdom, and power of God. . . they may, as brethren and sisters. So here is the foundation of our meetings.[1]

It is evident that Fox considered his <u>methods</u> to be as God-given as his <u>message</u>, and for that reason the attacks on methods, as well as the more direct attack upon his person, seemed denials of his message.[2]

There is evidence that some of the Wilkinson-Story faction, and especially William Rogers (whose <u>Christian - Quaker</u> let loose a barrage of polemic) were the lax party in regard to evading prosecution under the Conventicle Act.[3] Fox's attitude was marked by boldness. The first Sunday after the Act came into force, Fox announced to his minister-brethren that he would go to Gracechurch St., "where I expected the storm was most likely to begin."[4]

---

[1]Epis. 316, <u>Works</u>, VIII, 78-79. Cf. Epistles 320, 350, and others written during the times of controversy.

[2]See Epis. 308, <u>Ibid</u>., 61; also 317, <u>Ibid</u>., 79ff.

[3]See Braithwaite, <u>Second Period of Quakerism</u>, p. 298.

[4]The <u>Journal</u>, p. 560.

He has nothing but scorn for those Presbyterians and Independents, who persecuted under the Protectorate but under the Restoration fled, escaped by subterfuge, or camouflaged their worship with bread and cheese and tobacco pipes.[1]

Friends are redeemed out of all such devices. They have the liberty of the Gospel to stay and to live a higher life. He writes:

> And keep your testimony, for the sufferings and resurrection of Jesus Christ; for they that suffer with him, shall reign with him. But they that shuffle, and flee in the time of persecution, and deny him before men, such he will deny. . . . Who deny him, or are ashamed of him, before earthly men, such fear the wrath of men, more than the wrath of God; and such are the stony ground, whose blade is scorched up by the heat of persecution. . .
>
> And keep your testimony for your unity in the faith that gives you victory; and your fellowship and unity in the spirit, which is the bond of the Prince of princes, King of kings, and Lord of lords' peace. Amen.[2]

The word "unity" is the key, here. In dissenting from the order (which was, for Fox, the revealed order) factions weakened the unity of the Church which Fox envisaged covering the whole earth.

The leadership of this True Church, the Church of the Restoration, is for him to be vested in the yearly meetings which are to be linked together through the recognized ministerial leaders whose advice and discipline is made available by travel and by letter. Regarding the yearly meetings, while they may well have developed out of the needs of suffering and of seeking legal protection,[3] they became the means whereby the universal as-

---

[1] Ibid., 566-67; 518-19. [2] Epis. 318, Works VIII, 84

[3] See Lloyd, Quaker Social History, pp. 175-76.

pects of the Church could find expression. In 1682, Fox wrote an epistle to Friends in Jamaica which gives a fine account of his hopes for this meeting:

> Dear friends, with my love in the Lord to you all: it hath been often in my mind, from a sense of the spirit of the Lord; which thing I shall lay before you, and comment it to the witness of God in all your consciences.
>
> The thing is this: that if you had. . . a Yearly Meeting, as they have in Holland, Germany, and Friesland, and at Rhode Island, and in England, and elsewhere, which is, and hath been, of great service; for Friends to see one another, and know how the affairs of truth prosper, and how Friends do grow in the truth of God, to the comfort and joy of one another in it; in which the Lord Jesus Christ is exalted. And if there should be any difference among Friends, it may be ended at the Yearly Meeting, by some Friends out of the meeting. . . . So that all things. . . .And so for you once in a year to meet together in the Lord's power, and to wait upon him in his spirit and truth one day, and then another day you may have a Yearly Men and women's meeting. . . . for where they (Yearly Meetings) are settled, they see a great service in them . . . the Lord hath owned them. . . and that keeps all in a sense of a care of his glory, and a care of one another, . .[1]

The epistles from one Yearly Meeting to another gave to the missionary-minded band of the children of light a sense of unity. From London Fox writes to Friends in Holland:

> . . . dear friends, this Yearly Meeting the Lord's power was over all, and his seed of life; and the Lord's refreshing presence was among us. . . . And your epistle . . . was read, to the refreshing of Friends; and another from. . . Ireland; and a testimony from Scotland, that Friends are in love and unity there, and . . . by letters from America. . . and at Algiers, in the Turks' country, Friends have set up a meeting, about twenty that are captives, among themselves; and a Friend that is a captive, declareth the truth there among them . . .[2]

---

[1]Epis. 373, Works, VIII, 210.

[2]Epis. 374, Ibid., 211.

As the "apostle" of the movement, Fox certainly gave himself to traveling and to letter-writing, in the pattern of the Apostolic Church. And the leadership of the spirit-led ministry in affairs of the Church was a sort of de-facto recognition of those whom God had called, among whom Fox was not over-modest in asserting his guidance.[1] All of those who have received Christ are heirs of both the gospel and the order; and the order includes such ministry, the Apostolate, as Christ, the head of the Church calls forth. The "general assemblies of the ministry at London, or elsewhere" are the guardians of this gospel order, entrusted with the task of determining "whether all the ministers that go forth into the countries, do walk as becomes the gospel," and "whether all do keep in the government of Christ, that preach him."[2]

As the settlement of a yearly meeting as a representative body, took some ten years, and was first an adjunct to the yearly meeting of ministers, which, with the Second-Day Morning Meeting, comprised the real authority,[3] the job of continuing the spiritual fervency and channeling it was left to those who shared Fox's convictions about the gospel order. The wishes of Fox are shown by the sealed letter which was brought in to the Morning Meeting after his death. He writes:

---

[1]Epis. 308, Ibid., 59ff. [2]Ibid., 60.

[3]See Braithwaite, Second Period of Quakerism, pp. 276-78.

> All Friends in all the world, that used to write to me of all manner of things and passages, and I did answer them--let them all write to the Second-day's Meeting in London, directing them first to their correspondents there; and the Second-day's Meeting in London for them to answer them in the wisdom of God. And let a copy of this be sent to all places in the world among Friends, that they may know and understand this.[1]

Finally, Fox's concept of the gospel order was his attempt to provide for the leadership of Christ in the affairs of Church. He sought divine unction for the maintenance of the restored Church. His "Trying of Spirits in our age now" shows that he was seeking a positive approach :

> Now, all, since the apostles' days, that are gone from the Holy One, such are gone. . . from the anointing, and unction, and teaching within, that comes from the Holy One. . . . But, my friends and brethren in Christ Jesus. . . by this unction and anointing within you, the church of Christ knows all things, as the church of Christ did. . . in the apostles' days.[2]

It is part of his holiness emphasis. Individuals who are restored from the power of the serpent have the power of God: "every one of these living believers are members of the living church in God, which Christ is the head of, and every member in the church hath an office; and so every member is serviceable in the body in his office. . . in the power of God. . ."[3]

It is by this unction that members settle differences one with another. In the gospel order the grievance

---

[1]Placed in the Journal, p. 756, in Henry J. Cadbury's Epilogue, "George Fox's Later Years."

[2]GTD, Works, VI, 211. [3]Epis. 344, Ibid., 141.

is to be settled on the basis of Matthew 18: 15-17.[1] The admonition must be given in tenderness and wisdom. Some must be "dandled upon the knee,"[2] Though two admonitions are required before bringing a matter before the church, the doctrine of Jesus Christ "limiteth none, so as that they shall use no longer forbearance." When Friends have given "weighty" consideration, and each conscience is clear, then judgment shall be given.[3]

This "trial of spirits",[4] to see if they are of God or not calls the true members of Christ's church to try those who use their liberty as a cloak for license (the Ranters and their ilk, Fox means).[5] By the divine unction apostacy is cast out; and a church which fails to use this power and authority "in the spirit of Christ to judge Jezabel's spirit," comes under the reproof of God, for Christ "hath given his church power and authority in his holy spirit to admonish, exhort, judge, reprove, and rebuke in his power and spirit."[6]

It is this unction that prevents strife and contention in meeting; for each, according to his measure, is taught of God as he waits in the spirit.[7] This une-

---

[1]"If your brother sins against you, go and tell him his fault. If he listens to you, you have gained your brother. But if he does not listen, take one or two others . . . If he refuses to listen to them, tell it to the church. . ."

[2]Epis. 262, Ibid., 320; [3]Epis. 264, Ibid., 340ff.

[4]See 1 John, 4: 1. [5]GTD, Works, VI, 222.

[6]Ibid., 181; cf. 177-84. Reference is Revelations 2.

[7]Epis. 66, Ibid., 79; Epis. 132, Ibid., 130.

tion enables tha particular meetings to choose "weighty, seasoned, and substantial Friends that understand the business of the church" to go to Quarterly Meeting.[1]

It is evident that for Fox, "gospel order" is the outward mark of the Restored Church. It is his guide to God's constant purposes, a check upon individualism. It attempts to give the forms whereby a visible Church is a possible and at the same time an effective instrument for the maintenance of a holy community. It was not to an experiment in group thinking that Fox witnessed, but rather to a recognition of an order already set up whereby Christ, the Saviour, became the Teacher.

The Holy Community

The Restored Church faces the world as a holy community, not as an institution. "Friends' fellowship must be in the spirit, and all Friends must know one another in the spirit and power of God," begins the collection of disciplinary advices which served to unify the practices of Friends' meetings in the years which closed Fox's career.[2] Holiness is a mark of the Church which Fox sought to see demonstrated devotionally, through worship, ethically, through the testimonies, and socially, through the Christian community.

Worship is first of all possible only among those who are born again spiritually. Even bodily separation

---

[1]Epis. 264, Ibid., 346. [2]Ibid., 331.

cannot sever the basic communion of those who have been baptized into one spirit.[1] Worship is principally a relationship, in which Christ is the substance, fulfilling the doctrine and abrogating the symbol. A favorite passage of Scripture is the account in John 4, in which Jesus tells the Samaritan woman "that the hour cometh and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth."[2]

The word "worship" does not frequently appear. When Fox wants to describe a corporate activity of devotion he used the word "meeting". His Journal carries in abundance such expressions as "we had a precious meeting", or "a heavenly meeting."[3] Early Friends had three kinds of meetings, the public meeting for evangelizing, the meeting of convinced Friends, and meetings for the transaction of business.[4] All were to be equally under the leadership of the spirit. The same "gospel order" which inspired the conduct of Fox's order of business meetings inspired, also, regular Sunday ("First-day") morning assemblies. Neither the pretence of avoiding persecution,[5] nor the plea of a completely spiritual worship were sufficient causes to "forsake the assembling together."[6] Fox chides the Jam-

---

[1] GTD, Works, VI, 234ff.

[2] Ibid., IV, 407ff. Cf. Epis. 222, Ibid., VII, 229; the Journal, pp. 417; 1661.

[3] The Journal, pp. 269, 372, 555, passim.

[4] See Lloyd, Quaker Social History, chap. 9.

[5] The Journal, p. 395; 1661.

[6] Epis. 187, Works, VII, 177. Cf. Hebrews 10:25.

aican Friends for their carelessness. They will "grow loose and wither, and not have the blessing of God," and will be worse than the world, which meets in the steeple-houses, unless they diligently keep their First-day meetings together.[1] In addition, he advises them to have week-day meetings, as well as the regular men's and women's business meetings.[2]

In his emphasis upon the restoration of Christianity to apostolic standards, Fox feels no need for a regular, special building for meetings. Christ and his apostles were not tied to a special place in which to preach, nor does the church which meets in Jesus' name. Fox thumbs well through the pages of the Scriptures to show that Biblical meetings were not confined to a building especially dedicated for worship. Houses, ships, streets, mountains, and highways served for the meeting of God with men. "It is the spirit of God that speaks to the churches; and the churches are not the outward temple or steeple-house," he writes, "but the people of God. . . who hear what the spirit of God saith to them."[3]

There is to be no difference between meetings for worship and for business--"Friends are not to meet like a company of people about town or parish business"-- but in waiting upon the Lord, and feeling his power, they are to be led of him.[4] His definition of worship is as follows:

---

[1]Epis. 299, Ibid., VIII, 47. [2]Ibid.

[2]GTD, Ibid, VI, 199; 184-200; cf. Ibid., IV, 269.

[3]Epis. 313, Ibid., VIII, 70.

> . . . for all men and women must lift up their eyes, hands, hearts, and spirits to the Lord, and to bow to him, and worship him; and ought in all their meetings, that gather in the name of Jesus, to wait upon the Lord for wisdom, counsel, and understanding, that by it they may be ordered and directed in his holy service and business, in his holy church. . . as they are directed and ordered by the Lord's power and wisdom, to praise, and magnify, and glorify him, with thanksgiving. . . in the name of Jesus Christ, for he is in the midst of them, their prophet, priest, teacher, shepherd, bishop, and counsellor. . .[1]

In true worship, one not only feels the power of God in himself, but also in others,--unless, of course, he takes his ease in Zion and falls asleep![2]

Silence, for Fox, does not refer so much to an absence of audible acts of worship as to the presence of Christ, the teacher, under whose guidance must come the preaching, praying, and singing. Fox uses the scripture "Let the women keep silence in the church" allegorically to show that carnal, uninspired persons have no right to prophesy until "they have learnt of Christ their husband at home."[3] Indeed, one may infer from Fox's defense of those who "groan and sigh" during prayer or who "praise God in a joyful sound" during preaching, that there was considerable noise (inspired or uninspired) during the early services among Friends.[4] Fox is not calling for

---

[1] Ibid. [2] Epis. 169, Ibid., VII, 158.

[3] Epis. 320, Ibid., 111; cf. GTD, Ibid., IV, 104. He cites 1 Cor. 14: 34-35, and buttresses his support of women preachers from Acts 2: 17, and other references.

[4] Lloyd, Quaker Social History, p. 121ff., shows that among early Friends the silent or "retired" meetings were much less common than those devoted mainly to preaching, although based on devotional silence.

a completely inward worship but a waiting in expectancy for the ministry from God. It is the silence that precedes the revelation that Fox proclaims. He accuses the prophets of the false church of never listening for the voice of God, of being swift to speak but not to hear, of having "bustling" spirits.[1] The silence is that of Jacob who stayed home, rather than of Esau, who hunts until he is tired and despises his birthright.[2]

Thus Fox would have a prophetic ministry in the worship of the Restored Church. It is part of his concept of his emphasis upon the continuity of revelation and inspiration. Therefore, he is not positing an end of audible, demonstrable worship, but an infusing of the gospel order with the power of God. Thus he writes:

> And therefore all friends, that are come to witness the Holy Ghost and faith, in which the true praying and building is, which gives victory over the world, which is the gift of God. . . keep your meetings, and being met together, as you are moved, speak; for they spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, as the spirit gave them utterance. . .[3]

No mass or Common Prayer book is needed by those who have the spirit which gave forth the scriptures. They can be tuned to the spirit of truth.[4] Those who minister in the spirit (or, at the inspiration of the spirit) have their message received with gladness; those who sing in the spirit "reach to the spirit in others; and those who pray in the spirit awaken the needs and longings of fellow-

---

[1] GTD, Works, IV, 119-23. [2] Ibid., 130. [3] Ibid., 123.

[4] Epis. 171, Ibid., VII, 159.

worshippers.[1]

The Lord's Supper is claimed by Fox on the basis of its fulfilment in Christ. He makes a distinction between the supper which Jesus shared with his disciples the last night before he was betrayed and the supper of the risen and ascended Lord.[2] The first was "to show forth the Lord's death until he come."[3] It pointed the way beyond the death and resurrection when Christ would drink the fruit of the vine anew in the kingdom of God, words fulfilled as Jesus ate with the disciples and was known in the breaking of the bread.[4] After the ascension, "the churches were gathered" but "as yet they were not come off many outward elementary things." Accordingly, Christ sent John to call the church to another supper: "Behold, I stand at the door and knock: if any man will hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him, and he with me; he that hath an ear to hear, let him hear what the spirit saith unto the churches."[5]

Fox will not limit the Supper to a testimonial of a past presence nor put Christ's presence in the bread and wine. He calls for an apprehension of the real, spiritual presence of the ascended Christ.

---

[1] Ibid.

[2] "A Distinction between the Two Suppers of Christ", GTD, Works, VI, 282-88.

[3] I Cor. 11: 26. Fox refers also to Matt. 26: 29; Mark 14: 24; and Luke 22: 18.

[4] Luke 24 and John 21. [5] Rev. 3: 20.

Fox's ministry was spent in an era of religious intolerance. His death in 1690/1 came only a few years after the Declaration of Indulgence and the Toleration Act relieved somewhat the distress of Friends. The principles of Restoration Christianity, were, then, throughout his lifetime, in contact with "the world" at points which made antagonism. Under the onus of illegality, the Church which he asserted was called upon to display its ethical holiness. This is not the place for an adequate treatment of the two main negative testimonies: refusal to pay tithes to the State and refusal to take the oath of allegiance.[1] It will suffice to show the positive principles which motivated such anti-social practices and maintained them in the face of wearying persecution.[2]

One factor in the fervency of the fellowship of the early Friends lies in the leadership of Fox, who challenged them to hold the things of the world in disdain. These three sentences show the vibrancy of the reformer:

> So, day and night let your cries be to him, who will keep you in all distresses. For in your afflictions Christ is afflicted, and in all your oppressions he is oppressed.[3]
>
> And thou ye have not a foot of ground to stand upon, yet ye have the power of God to skip and leap in; standing in that which is your life, that is everlasting.[4]

---

[1]See in Braithwaite, Beginnings of Quakerism and Second Period of Quakerism, for discussions, passim.

[2]See Epis. 386, Works, VIII, 233-34, where Fox reports "betwixt thirteen and fourteen hundred in prison", 1683.

[3]Epis. 148, Ibid., VII, 140. Epis. 206, Ibid., 201.

> Sing and rejoice, ye children of the light; for the Lord is at work in this thick night of darkness. . . . And so be of good faith and valiant for the truth: for the truth can live in the jails.[1]

The opposition to compulsory maintenance of the Church of England through the tithes was steady on the part of the Quakers. Fox observes with a great deal of keenness, from the vantage point of 1660, that the Independents, Baptists, and Presbyterians, who used to cry against tithes, during their outward power persecuted Friends for refusal to give tithes to them. And when the King was restored, many "conformed to the Common Prayer."[2] Fox's criticism of tithes as both causing and continuing an unworthy ministry has been related.[3] Positively, Fox considered tithes part of the outmoded dispensation of the Law, presently invalid both because the tithes no longer fed the poor[4] and because the priesthood of man was abolished in favor of the priesthood of Christ, as the book of Hebrews plainly (for him) stated.[5]

On the matter of swearing, or the taking of oaths, it was likewise a part of the gospel of perfection to refuse, despite the suffering entailed because of the sus-

---

[1]Epis. 227, Works, VII, 241.

[2]The Journal, p. 392ff. Fox considered the disinterring and scattering of Cromwell's body to have been a sort of Divine judgment upon the Protector's failure to abolish the tithes. See p. 394. See Barclay, Societies of the Commonwealth, p. 196ff., regarding general opposition to tithes.

[3]Supra, p. 60ff. [4]The Journal, pp. 487-88; 1665.

[5]The Journal, p. 184; 1655.

picion of disloyalty cast by such actions, and because it was an easy way to damage the Quakers. Fox writes:

> Oaths which ended strife in the time of the law and before, were figures of Christ, the oath of God who sware by himself; which oath Christ Jesus endeth, and destroys the devil the author of strife, and brings people to yea and nay, who judges the false oath and ends the true. For there were no oaths commanded before the fall; so there are none to be in the restoration and redemption by Christ.[1]

To demand an oath of a Christian, according to Fox, was to reject the commands of Christ, "Swear not at all." For in the Old Testament oaths other than to God were forbidden; and on the rare and awesome occasions when an oath was taken, it bound a man's soul to God as with a bond.[2] Christ, then, is the righteousness of God; and those who are restored are <u>always</u> in a principle of Truth, not under a law, is his implication. No law can impose a higher standard of truth upon the Christian than that implicit in the redemptive experience. But for the sake of the magistrates, who might be sympathetic but skeptical, Fox did not hesitate to declare, "If we transgress our Yea and Nay, let us suffer as they do that break an oath."[3]

---

[1]Epis. 147, <u>Works</u>, VII, 139.

[2]See "Concerning Swearing", <u>GTD</u>, <u>Works</u>, V, 154-71.

[3]The <u>Journal</u>, pp. 483-84, where Fox uses the <u>Book of Martyrs</u> to establish precedent for his position; 531, for the difference among non-swearers; and pp. 466-69 for an account of his own examination. Cf. <u>GTD</u>, <u>Works</u>, V, 171. Regarding the Quaker position, Tillotson atmitted that "there is scarce any error whatsoever that hath a more plausible color from Scripture," but believes that inasmuch as perjury is a great deterrent opposition to oaths is prejudicial to society and to the "reasonableness" of Christianity. Cited by More, <u>Anglicanism</u>, pp. 673-74.

The contact of the Church with the world, from the standpoint of ethics, was made, further, by the assertion that love is the proper weapon of the Church with which to display its holiness. Fox calls this "The Royal Law of Love"[1] and it is his answer to the church which has apostatized through reliance upon force of state and "carnal weapons" for its maintenance.[2] The ethics of the Sermon on the Mount are taken seriously--men are to love enemies as well as friends.[3] This love is based on three things: restoration of the nature of man, judgment over the souls of men is in the hands of the angels of God, and suffering is the price Christians may expect to pay.[4] The weapons which love uses are those Paul mentions, faith, salvation, and the spirit; and in this armour Fox challenges any storm.[5]

Honesty and simplicity became trademarks of the early movement. Fox records as early as 1653 the persistence of Friends in not giving hat honor, or saying "you", to one, but rather "thee", and in rejecting the "world's fashion"; and he writes that while at first the Quaker tradesmen suffered, soon people realised that there would be no cheating from them. They saw that a child would

---

[1]See "Gospel Liberty and the Royal Law of Love," GTD, Works, IV, 330-45.

[2]See supra, p. 60ff.

[3]GTD, Works, V, 217; and IV, 298-303, 330.

[4]Ibid, V, 104-5. Cf. Eph. 6 and 2 Cor. 10: 4.

be as well used as themselves. Fox declares that by such living Friends "did preach and reach to the witness of God in all people."[1] He also reflects that the Quaker tradesmen doubled their trade.[2] The restored relationship with God brings a demonstrable holiness as the Lord God is glorified "in their practising truth, holiness, godliness, and righteousness."[3] Fox exhorts Friends, in his epistles, to "take heed of wronging the world,"[4] to keep out of debt and not go beyond their capacity.[5] By the paying of this debt of love, their lives will be a terror and a judgment upon unrighteousness and will bring many to amendment of life. "Let your actions and words be one with the witness of God in all people," he admonishes.[6]

The simple language is conceived by Fox to be the pattern for "all good men", whereas saying "you" to one is a type of flattery, like the doffing of the hat and other forms of bowing and scrapping.[7] These testimonies represent attempts to draw out the doctrine of holiness into everyday life.

Fox's concept of non-violence was essentially a

---

[1]The Journal, pp. 169-70. [2]Ibid., p. 170.

[3]Ibid. [4]Epis. 131, Works, VII, 128.

[5]Epis. 200, "The Line of righteousness and Justice" Ibid., 191-98.

[6]Ibid., 196.

[7]See Epis. 269, Ibid., VIII, 15, for an example of his view on the simple language. See supra, p.50, for Fox's reactions against the customs which fed the spirit of pride.

a positive belief in the power of the true Church to stand on its own feet, unaided by "carnal weapons." He is willing to grant universal liberty of religion, trusting that with patience and the use of "spiritual weapons", in love, the Christian gospel will overcome unrighteousness. "And let him be Jew, or papist, or Turk, or heathen, or Protestant, or what sort soever, or such as worship sun, or moon, or stocks, or stones," he writes, "let them have liberty where every one may bring forth his strength, and have free liberty to speak forth his mind and judgment."[1]

The true Church is a restored one, not an established one. He writes:

> Christ's Church was never established by blood, nor held up by prisons: neither was the foundation of it laid by carnal, weaponed men, nor is it preserved by such. But when men went from the spirit and truth, then they took up carnal weapons to maintain their outward forms, and yet cannot preserve them . . . for one plucketh down another's form with his outward weapons.[2]

Fox's pacifism stemmed from his doctrine of the Restoration. He told those who would make him an officer in the Commonwealth army that he lived "in the virtue of that life and power that took away the occasion of all wars," that he was in "the covenant of peace".[3] He signed a statement, which he wrote to Cromwell, denying the use of the sword against any and declaring his intention to

---

[1] GTD, Works, IV, 279. For discussion of Church-State relations see Chap. VI, infra, p. 181ff.

[2] The Journal, p. 417; 1661.

[3] Ibid., p. 65; 1651.

bring people away from the occasion of the sword. He states:

> . . . with a carnal weapon I do not fight, but am from those things dead. . . . And this I am ready to seal with my blood.[1]

In this disposition he clearly claims the mind and nature of Christ, whose kingdom "is not of this world."[2]

Wars arise out of the fallen nature, and although there was a time when the Jews made lawful use of outward weapons, but the order of the Gospel ends that, bringing nations out of the occasions of war.[3] Worried lest any "young or raw people" among Friends might become political revolutionaries, Fox wrote an epistle, excerpts from which read:

> All Friends, everywhere, keep out of plots and bustlings and the arm of the flesh, for all these are amongst Adam's sons in the Fall, where they are destroying men's lives like dogs and beasts and swine, goring, rending and biting one another. . . . all this is in Adam in the Fall, out of Adam that never fell. . . Ye are called to peace, therefore follow it, and that peace is in Christ. . . . All that pretend to fight for Christ they are deceived, for his kingdom is not of this world, therefore his servants do not fight.[4]

This perfectionist pacifism is reiterated at length in the "Declaration of 1660", in which Fox and his fellow-workers "utterly deny. . . all outward wars and strife and fightings with outward weapons, for any end or under any

---

[1] Ibid., p. 198; 1655. [2] Ibid., pp. 197-98.

[3] Epis. 188, Works, VII, 178.

[4] The Journal, p. 357; 1659. Cf. a similar letter, p. 358.

pretence whatsoever."[1] It is a moving appeal to Charles II, by those who, under Cromwell, were accused of plotting against him, under the Committee of Safety accused of plotting to bring in the King, and under King Charles still accused of being plotters. And it shows clearly that Fox derived his pacifism from a non-political basis. The redeemed and suffering Church will give their lives in sacrifice rather than to disobey the Lord.[2]

In such ethical responses to the world, Fox is attempting to show through the Restored Church, with her close dependence upon Christ as teacher, a road that lies between legalism and antinomianism.

Socially, the Church is the holy community, drawn together not only because of persecution, but also, primarily, because of their restoration out of apostacy and darkness into the true Church. The Christian community begins, for Fox, with marriage. In the year 1653 he had advocated a plan for marriage by which the couple lay the matter "before the faithful", secure the clearance by the Church and relatives, and take one another in an appointed meeting witnessed by no fewer than twelve witnesses.[3] It was in this year that the Barebones Parliament had passed an act making compulsory a civil ceremony

---

[1] Ibid., p. 399; 1661 (new style). See pp. 398-404.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid., p. 519; 1668. Cf. Epis. 26, Works, VII, 34.

before a justice of the peace.[1] Not all Friends were faithful,[2] for some had gone to the priests (some of whom had had their "hands dipped in the blood of our brethren in New England") and some had married non-Friends.[3] Accordingly, concurrent with his drive to establish the "gospel order" of meetings, he formalized the marriage ideal, entrenching it more firmly as a responsibility of the Church. In the midst of this establishment of the churches, in the year 1669, he and Margaret Fell, a fifty-five year old widow, married. His own matrimonial adventure is an example of of his ideals.[4]

These ideals include the belief that marriage is an ordinance of God which is as definite an experience as the new birth whereby one comes into the "habitation" of God. "From Genesis to the Revelations you never read of any priests that married any people, but it is God's ordinance," he writes, "and whom God hath joined together, let no man put asunder."[5] It represents God's joining of individuals "before the fall"; hence it "is so in the restoration. . . again by Christ Jesus."[6] As the holy men of old were forbidden to mingle with the heathen, so the "elect people of God", called Quakers, "who are of the

---

[1]Lloyd, Quaker Social History, p. 49. He has a good chapter (4) on the establishment of Quaker marriage practice.

[2]The Journal, p. 519.

[3]See his advices, Epis. 264, Works, VII, 332ff.

[4]The Journal, pp. 554-55.

[5]Epis. 264, Works, VII, 332. [6]Ibid., 334.

seed and generation of the righteous," are forbidden to marry unbelievers and thus depart from the spirit by which they have been sanctified and led into the sonship.[1]

While this concept of God's ordination is not particularly appealing to "the world" it does show an effort to recapture marriage as an institution of God. It restores the sacramental ideal of the sanctity of marriage on the basis of experiential religion. Moreover, it enhanced marriage as a relationship between parties which stands at the very center of the Christian society. Marriage was not an expediant for the alleviation of lust and the procreation of children. The marriage between two children of the light is "a heavenly and spiritual joining", a marriage which "Christ owns, and sets up and encourages, who is the covenant and the quickening spirit."[2]

The Church is the guardian, lest mere feelings of affection are mistaken for leadings of the Lord. It is in the assembly of the righteous that spirits are tried and God's ordinance recognized.[3] The magistrates may be informed, if the couple desire, after the marriage has been performed in a public meeting of Friends.[4]

The children of believers are an important group in the Church. In his arguments in the Mistery of the Great Whore, Fox makes a claim that the children of

---

[1] Ibid. Cf. Epis. 190, Ibid., 180.

[2] Ibid., 338. These advices give in greater detail the system of oversight exercized by the Women's and Men's meetings, the protecting of rights of children of widows, etc.

[3] Ibid. 337. [4] Ibid., 338.

believers are of a new nature, a new estate, on the strength of Paul's statement about the believing wife or husband sanctifying the other, "else were their children unholy, but now are they clean."[1] How he squares this with the wreckage caused by a Friend marrying an unbeliever is not at all obvious. But he shows that the believers and their children are a clean creation and a holy generation.[2] He does not posit an automatic salvation for the children: his doctrine of the election by response to Christ forbids that. Moreover, in an epistle to parents, written in 1669, he admonishes them to seek to lead children to "find the substance" just as persons before their convincement had sought to bring to outward profession.[3] He further instructs parents to honor the Lord by holding firm authority over children, "breaking the stubborn will," and training them in the truth so that they may "come to be heirs of salvation, and children of the promise. . . in whom Christ is elect."[4]

Fox certainly showed a concern for children, especially those of poor families,[5] His stress on voluntarism leads to the inference that he accounted the inheritance given by parents in the Restoration Church to be effective in laying a burden of life upon children in opposition to

---

[1] MGW, Works, III, 554. Cf. 1 Cor. 7: 14.

[2] Ibid. [3] Epis. 277, Ibid., VIII, 22-24.

[4] Ibid.

[5] See GTD, Ibid, VI, 204ff; also Epis. 264, Ibid., VII, 344.

those in the unrighteousness of Adam. His emphasis upon the responsibility, both of parents and of the Meetings, for the instruction of children "in the fear of God" is part of his emphasis upon the order of the gospel. The Church that God was gathering was composed of families, like that of the Old Covenant. Like the Jews instructing their children in the law, Christians in the New Covenant instruct their children both in some "lawful calling" and also in the truths of the Gospel,[1] remembering that it is the Lord "that brings to the birth, and gives power to bring forth, whether it be natural or spiritual. . . and the souls of all are in his hand and power."[2]

The holy community of the Church included all who in any way looked for guidance from Christian people. The masters of families in Barbadoes are encouraged to include "negroes and tawny Indians" in their instructions, or intrust the task to others on their behalf.[3] The Women's meetings were to look out for the widows and the fatherless, in the order of the gospel.[4] Collections from meetings, for creating apprenticeships for "poor Friends' children", are provided in Fox's advices, along with suggestions for burial grounds ("for

---

[1]Epis. 264, Works, VII, 345. Cf. Epis. 320, Ibid., VIII, 96.

[2]GTD, Works, VI, 209. [3]The Journal, p. 605; 1671.

[4]Epis. 320, Works, VIII, 98, 120ff.

Abraham bought a place to bury his dead in, and would not bury them amongst the Egyptians and Canaanites"), for a hospital for aged Friends, an asylum for "distempered" people, and record books.[1]

Thus devotionally, ethically, and socially, the Church of the Restoration, as seen by Fox, was to present a holy witness to the world. It was this phase of the Church in practice which in the middle of the next century was give to Friends a positive definition of membership--those were then considered member families who subscribed to the Poor Relief.[2] Separated from the closely defining bounds of persecution and withdrawn from its conquest of the world by evangelism, the movement of the Quakers was to be haunted by a birthright membership which hampered its aggressiveness to the world with which it had come somewhat to terms. With Fox the social phase of the Holy community was but one facet in the whole restoration gem.

A Fellowship of Evangelism

"Stand up ye prophets of the Lord, for the truth upon the earth; quench not your prophecy, neither heed them that despise it; but in that stand which brings you through to the end."[3] Thus Fox addressed those who with

---

[1]Epis. 264, Works, VII, 341ff.

[2]See Lloyd, Quaker Social History, pp. 42-43.

[3]Epis. 35, "To Friends in the Ministry" (1653), Works, VII, 43.

him shared the apostolate in the revival of Christianity. The spiritual warfare is not only present in ethical response,--indeed, that is secondary witness--it is present in the missionary zeal of one who felt that God was truly ushering in the true Church after the long, dark night of apostacy. This is his battle cry:

> Arm yourselves like men of war; the mighty power of God goes along with you to stand over all the world, and (spiritually) to chain, to fetter, to bind, and to imprison, and to lead out of prison; to famish, to feed, and to make fat, and to bring into green pastures. So the name and power of the Lord Jesus Christ be with you![1]

It is in this call to the ministry of the living presence of Christ that Fox finds the apostolicity of the Church. The entire Church shared in this mission to evangelize by its very nature as a group of people from whom the chaff of sin had been taken away. The succession of the Church is in possessing the same power present in the early Church.[2]

At its inception, the Quaker movement consisted of a kind ecstatic revivalism led by Fox and others who shared the sense of the leading of the Holy Spirit. In the eyes of Anglicans and Presbyterians unordained preaching such as this was anathema. But Independents and Baptists came to strength through the development of "lay" preaching.[3] And it was during the Cromwellian era that

---

[1]Epis. 55, Works, VII, 70.

[2]GTD, Works, V, 184-87.

[3]Barclay, Societies of the Commonwealth, p. 294.

Fox's evangelism could take root. With the coming of the King, in 1660, dissent was again attacked, and the Quakers suffered from the severity of the Clarendon Code. In this latter period, after many of the early "publishers of truth" had died, Fox gave more attention to defining the nature of the Apostolate.

Fox's criticism of the ministry, as has been noted, was that it forced itself upon the people through state support, that it had an office but no divine call, and that it "preached up" sin.[1] In his view, the ministry consisted of men and women upon whom God had bestowed his gifts. He writes: "our ministers are not made of man, nor by man, but by the grace of God, which is free, and his gifts which are perfect, by which we minister one to another, by which the body is edified, and the saints perfected. . ."[2]

He notes that Jesus called fishermen to be his ministers: was not Peter's fishing coat as fit to preach in and to dine with Christ in "as any of the canonical garments?"[3] In a treatise on "Primitive Ordination and Succession" Fox lumps the twelve Apostles, the seventy Disciples, Pastors, Teachers, Prophets, and Evangelists, Bishops, Deacons, and Elders into one essential ordination. The office is Christ's to bestow on whomever he will send forth.[4] The true apostolic succession is in

---

[1]See supra, Chap. III. [2]GTD, Works, IV, 273.

[3]Ibid., V, 282. [4]Ibid., 171-74.

"the same power and Holy Ghost that the apostles were in."[1]

This charismatic ministry is primarily evangelistic. But it should be noted that the the gift of prophesying is to be sought, and Fox approves the Pauline recommendation that they speak one by one, to the comfort and edification of the church.[2] Such is to be expected "nowadays" as well as in the Corinthian church.

The "order" of the ministry, is primarily that of those, who, under the call of God, obey the command to "go. . . and teach all nations." These the Lord "hath made to be his mouth."[3] They are to spread themselves abroad, trample upon all deceit, and answer the witness of God in men.[4] In 1652 Fox advised that not all Friends go out to evangelize, but that some should wait in their own meeting place while "three, or four, or six, that are grown up strong. . . go . . . and thresh the heathenish nature."[5] These "public Friends" were to challenge the very strongholds of the apostate church, to "thresh that which hath been fed with the harlot's spirit."[6]

Fox's epistles to "the Turk", to the Emperor of the House of Austria, to the King of Spain, and to the Pope, indicate his assurance that a mighty missionary movement was in progress and that he and his "valiant-for-truth" ministers were Christ's ambassadors; and his

---

[1] GTD, Works, V, 174. [2] Ibid., 241; cf. 1 Cor. 14.
[3] Epis. 64, Works VII, 77-8. [4] Ibid.
[5] Epis. 14, Ibid., 22-23. [6] Epis. 114, Ibid., 113.

letters to the Emperor of China and, finally, to "All Nations Under the Whole Heavens" show his dreams.[1] His closing words to the Emperor of Austria reveals his universalism: "the Lord has an elect royal seed to be gathered in these parts."[2] Fox was confident that Christ's true ministers could turn the world upside down without crying, like the Jews against Jesus, for the magistrates to help them out with "staff, and sword, and bag, and gaols".[3]

From Fox's point of view, he was not called upon particularly to revive Christians, as to restore Christ to them as a living Christ to be experienced. Consequently, when Fox writes to ministers to "sound deep to the witness of God in every man,"[4] far from negating missionary enterprise, he declares the evangel the more important. That witness, the Light of Christ, provides the very basis for men to experience a reconciliation to God.[5] "All are to be subject to Christ's power, and . . . every tongue shall confess that Jesus is Lord, to the glory of God the Father," is the message for the ministers.[6] The profession, makes little difference, for Jew, Protestant, Papist, and Turk may hold some scriptures "with a dark spirit" and yet not

---

[1] GTD, Works, IV, 214-57. See in Braithwaite, Beginning of Quakerism and Second Period of Quakerism for accounts of the missionary efforts of early Friends.

[2] Ibid., 233. [3] Ibid., 279. Cf. Epis. 171, Works, VII, 159ff.

[4] Epis. 195, Works, VII, 185. Cf. Journal, p. 263, and passim. Fox uses variants of this expression repeatedly.

[5] "Concerning the Ministers of Christ", GTD, Works, VI, 422ff.

[6] Ibid., 424.

confess Christ. In an interesting little paper on "The Heathen's Divinity", in which Biblical characters are aligned for testimony to the presence of a divine Light, making for either obedience or disobedience, Fox speaks of "something of God in these heathens" which caused them to cry out to God.[1] The missionaries are to witness to salvation by trusting Christ in the soul, and to the gathering of the people of the nations into the covenant of light. By confounding "deceit" they awaken the witness of the Christ and confront men with its truth.[2]

This evangelistic ministry on the part of the "public Friends" represents Fox's concept of the Church in growth. The establishment of a spirit-led apostolate in a visible organization proved somewhat difficult, and the Wilkinson-Story controversy accented the question of the validity of the public ministers, as over against the more congregational prophesying. Fox's views of the relationship of public ministry to the Church in general may be summarized as follows.

(1) The ministry is a distinct calling both for the evangelizing of the world and the edification of the Friends' meetings. "All are "confessors" of Christ, "though they are not ministers and apostles."[3] The calling of God, whether for limited itinerancy or for longer ministry, is the essential preparation. Fox was disturbed by devasta-

---

[1] GTD, Works, IV, 402. [2] The Journal, p. 263; 1656.
[3] GTD, Works, VI, 424; also Epis. 14, Works, VII, 22.

tion caused by persecution under the Restoration. Lamenting that "few travel now the countries", he exhorts Bristol Friends to stir up faithfulness, and the "public men" to keep up their public testimony, "and visit Friends thereabouts. . . in this time of storm."[1] His own action and that of the London ministers in going "to the several meetings as they were moved", on Sunday following the invoking of the second Conventicle Act, May, 1670, indicates his feeling that persecution must not hinder the prophetic ministry of public Friends.[2]

(2) Voluntary support of a true minister is an acceptable and scripturally-warranted practice. In 1653 Fox wrote a blunt statement regarding compulsory tithes in which this principle appears:

> . . . if any minister of Jesus Christ, or son, or daughter, or servant, which Jesus Christ sends forth, (who said, "Freely ye have received, freely give,") comes to our houses, and ministers unto us spiritual things, we will set before him our carnal things; and he that soweth unto us spiritual things, it is the least, that we minister unto him of our carnal things. But he that sueth us at the law for means, and calleth me before courts and sessions, and telleth me, he is a minister of Christ, and Christ sent him, all such evil beasts (as the apostle speaks of) we deny.[3]

To those who were fearful that ministry would cease if maintenance were taken away, Fox answered that such a ministry ought to collapse; but that the power of a true ministry would "open the hearts of people. . . and

---

[1]Epis. 283, Works, VIII, 32. [2]The Journal, p. 560.

[3]Epis. 29, Works, VII, 36.

make them give to you, that there would be no want."[1]

His advices for the "gospel order" include this:

> that care be taken from time to time, as Friends are moved thereunto, for relieving faithful Friends' necessities, and for other services of truth. . . that ministering Friends may not be cumbered with outward things, but kept out of them.[2]

That the views of Fox represent most of the early Friends is attested by other sources.[3]

(3) The gift of the ministry is to be recognized and guarded by the Church. Fox recommended that those who felt God's call to engage in public ministry should secure a certificate of approval, or recognition, from their Particular meetings, so that scandal might not arise through "bad spirits."[4] In this way, on the local level, the congregation shares the concern; while on the higher level, the yearly meetings of ministers and the Morning Meeting of London ministers, by approval, guidance, or censure, guard the purity of the ministry.[5] The individual does not act contrary to group guidance; and a certain dignity belongs to the elders who have laboured in the word and

---

[1] MGW, Works, III, 381. [2] Epis. 264, Works, VII, 341.

[3] Cf. Barclay, Apology, Prop. X, sec. XXVIII. Braithwaite, Second Period of Quakerism, p. 360ff, gives evidence from Meeting records to show that maintenance and "gifts of love" were given Friends who left their regular work for active ministry. He cites Ellwood's verse which answered Roger's jabs at paid ministry:

> May none beyond Seas go but who can spare
> Sufficient of their own the charge to bear?
> Must Christ be so confin'd he may not send
> Any but such as have Estates to spend?
> God bless us from such Doctrine and such Teachers
> As will admit of none but wealthy Preachers.

[4] Epis. 264, Works, VII, 349. [5] See supra., pp., 134, 143.

doctrine.[1] Fox is saying that those whom God has revealed his ministry to are capable of discernment with which to check a ministry which is not genuine. He finds the balance between individual and corporate judgment by weight and not by number. Those who obey the promptings of the Spirit will know where, and through whom God has spoken in greatest measure. "The church of Christ's communion is not in that which proceeds from men below; but in that which proceeds from God and his son,"--[2] the direction is from God to man.

Summary

The Church, in Fox's concept, presents itself before the world in these ways:

(1) It is a gospel fellowship which brings restored individuals together by the experience of a common Christ. It is this which gives unity of spirit and enables an outward recognition of those gathered in the New Covenant. The universality of Christ gives the Church its catholicity, and the gathered fellowship is his visible body.

(2) It is a gospel order, whereby the apostolic pattern gave an historical basis and guide for revealed authority, served to check individualism, formulated a universal basis for the Church which was endangered by incipient congregationalism, and aimed at channeling

---

[1] GTD, Works, VI, 231. See entire paper, pp. 210-34.

[2] Ibid., 230.

the leadership of Christ into personal disputes and business affairs of the Church.

(3) It is the holy community, demonstrating the restored nature of its members devotionally, through worship which claims the inspiration of the spirit and needs no outward symbol for its communion with Christ; ethically, through testimonies against compulsory tithes and the taking of oaths as being unworthy of the New Covenant, and for honesty and simplicity and active love as the true Christian witness to holiness; and socially, by emphasizing marriage as a sanctifying ordinance of God, to be guided by the Church, children as a heritage of the Lord, to be trained and brought to the Covenant of Light, and the needy as responsibilities for its care.

(4) It is a fellowship of evangelism, in which the apostolate rests especially upon the ministers who are called out of common walks of life to speak the words of reconciliation. The ministers are distinctly called of God, they may receive voluntary support in their public service, and their ordination of God is recognized and guarded by the Church.

CHAPTER VI

THE CHURCH AND HISTORY

> . . . I was made to open the state of the Church in the primitive times and the state of the Church in the wilderness, and the state of the false Church that was got up since; and that now the everlasting Gospel was preached again over the head of the beast, whore, and false prophets, and anti-christs, which had got up since the apostles' days. And now the everlasting Gospel was received and receiving. . .[1]

Fox believed that the restoration of persons into a new nature and the gathering of the true Church was being accomplished during his time in a radical and decisive way. Expressions such as the one above, "received-and receiving," and others such as "the Lord is risen and rising," "come and coming", reveal the way present and future are fused together.[2] A particularly apt expression, showing the pentecostal nature of this mass movement, reads, "in this the day of the Lamb's power."[3]

Fox believed that in his day Christianity was taking its first big step since the days of the primitive Church. Hence the meaning of the Church in history is cast in eschatological terms.[3]

---

[1]The Journal, p. 444; 1663.

[2]E. g. GTD, Works, IV, 102 and 247.

[3]Schenk, Social Justice in the Puritan Revolution, p. 119, declares that it is "this expectation of the approaching Millenium that provides the proper background for the social radicalism of the Quakers."

Christ is come. . .

There is a kind of realized eschatology in Fox's concept of the Church gathered in the name of Jesus. In the realization of Christ's real presence in the world, both in judgment upon apostasy and in direct leadership of the elect. The content of this judgment has been noted earlier: the marks of apostasy are impure conduct, empty forms, unworthy methods, and inadequate doctrines.[1] The historical significance of this judgment lies in the fact, for Fox, that "the day of the Lord is upon you." To the king of Spain Fox declares:

> the day of the Lord's power is come over thee, and the day of the dread of the Lord shall overtake thee, which is now risen, the morning star is now broken forth, and your religion and your profession shall be at an end; the end of it is seen in the mighty power which is endless. . . .[2]

He asserts that the confusion of the period of the wilderness church is at an end. During this time "the great whore Babylon, mother of harlots, the false church" has reigned over the kings of the earth.[3] The world has been "all on heaps about religion, and church worship."[4] The false church "hath been fenced with Cain's weapons" but "the Lamb and the saints shall have the victory, which shall kill and slay with the sword, which is the word of his mouth."[5] The true Church is out in the open

---

[1] *Supra*, Chap. III. [2] *GTD*, *Works*, IV, 239.

[3] *Ibid.*, 226. [4] Epis. 172, *Works*, VII, 172.

[5] *GTD*, *Works*, IV, 234-38.

again and fires and faggots can no longer suppress it.

The apostate church commenced, for Fox, "since the days of the apostles." He is rather vague about it; and in one account he reveals his antipathy for the Romanizing influences of Augustine of Canterbury, blaming him for the beginning of persecution in England, except that from the "heathen" Diocletian ("but mark what was the end of his power").[1]

It is the false church, then, upon which judgment has already been passed. After the long night of apostasy Christ has come to teach his people himself. The "world's god," the "prince of the power of the air", has a season of glory, but it has reached its extent. Christ, who "is come and coming" has the victory.[2]

That which particularly distinguishes Fox from all those who shared apocalyptic hopes is that he believed that Christ's second coming was an intensely personal and vivid experience whereby believers were united under his leadership in a present victory over sin which needed only the mopping up battles of these "last days." Human history is

---

[1] Ibid., 346; also Ibid., VI, 477, where apostasy is rounded off in terms of "the thousand years". Cf. F(rancis) H(owgill), The Glory of the True Church, etc. (London: Giles Calvert, 1661), p. 140 and passim, for a more scholarly approach.

[2] Ibid., VI, 26. Cf. Penn's Rise and Progress, p. 13, ". . . the true church fled into the wilderness. . . to a retired, solitary, and lonely state. . . being as true a church in the wilderness, though not as visible and lustrous, as when she was in her former splendour of profession. In this state many attempts she made to return; but the waters were yet too high. . ."

telescoped that the picture of redemptive history might be the more apparent. In his important treatise, "A Testimony of What we Believe of Christ", Fox explicitly declares that the Millenium is the spiritual coming of Christ. Referring to John the Revelater, Fox writes, "He doth not say, Christ shall come in person and reign with them, but they shall reign with Christ a thousand years."[1] But this spiritual coming is not less real, but more real for Fox. "The Lamb and the saints shall have the victory," does not refer to isolated Christian experience, but to a quietly cataclysmic new age of the spirit:

> For the God of power, light, and glory, hath raised up a light in his people, and gathered their hearts together to himself, and . . . . the glory of the Lord is rising, and is risen, which terribly shakes the earth. . . . We witness the happy day of the Lord is come.[2]

The Baptists and Fifth Monarchy men missed the significance of Christ's coming, he considered. Writing from prison, 1656, concerning the expectation of Christ's personal return that year, he declares,

> And they looked upon this reign to be outward, whenas he was come inwardly in the hearts of his people to reign and rule there. . . . So they failed in their prophecy and expectation, and had not the possession of him.[3]

This emphasis upon the present rule of Christ inwardly perceived is portrayed by the use of biblical imagery. The parable of the pearl hid in the field announces to "the

---

[1] Ibid., V, 136-38. [2] Ibid., IV, 47.

[3] The Journal, p. 261.

poor, distressed, scattered Ones in foreign Nations," that "all wearied souls" may find Christ within, as it has been in England.[1]

Nebuchadnezzar's dream of the image of gold, silver, bronze, and iron mixed with clay,[2] provides the basis for Fox's interpretation of Christ in history. Christ is the stone uncut by human hands, smashing the Babylonian, Medeo-Persian, Grecian, and Roman monarchies, and covering the whole earth, as a "great mountain."[3] The traditional interpretation was, of course, made tantalizingly fresh by the historic events on the Continent and in England which seemed to evidence a weakening of the papal and Norman remnants of the Roman monarchy.[4] Fox certainly shared the enthusiasm of the Fifth-Monarchists; but his emphasis is different. The "stone", or "mountain" has already filled the whole earth with his presence as the light within human hearts. It is the realization of this that is contemporaneously significant.[5] Fox is gripped, not so much by the four monarchies, as by the kingdom of Christ "set up above sixteen hundred years ago" which shall have no end, but shall "consume and destroy all these kingdoms."[6]

The figure of the Covenant is by far the most frequent one used to depict the children of light in history.

---

[1] GTD, Works, IV, 164-68. [2] See Daniel 2.

[3] GTD, Works, VI, 301-5. [4] Supra, Chap. II.

[5] GTD, Works, VI, 302. [5] Ibid., 354; Daniel 2: 44.

This covenant of promise, fulfilled in Christ, is now witnessed by Fox and the Quakers:

> And now is the Lord known, and his promise fulfilled, and his ordinances performed, who hath put his law in their hearts, and written them in the inward parts of his people, and he is their God, and these need not teach every man his brother, and every man his neighbour, saying, know the Lord, for they shall all know me from the least to the greatest, saith the Lord.[1]

The idea of the covenant gives Fox a sense of God's work in the world. To the Jews Fox proves the "second covenant" by the prophets and by Daniel, the former providing the promise and the latter the time-table.[2] Fox is living in the time of Christ, interrupted only by the apostasy. He does not follow the Joachite interpretation of redemptive history, in which three stages--the age of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit-- are formulated.[3] Rather, he considers redemptive history in the light of the two covenants, the second of which glowed with perfect holiness in the apostolic age and is renewed again when, in his own day, the "man-child", hidden during apostasy, the Christ on the white horse, shall rule.[4] Fox is in accord with Joachim in declaring an ultimate historical phase of redemptive history. The essential difference actually consists of a closer identification by Fox of the contemporary age with the apostolic. His restoration concept

---

[1] Ibid., IV, 150; see 144-58. Jeremiah 31 and Ezekiel 11 provide passages of scripture used repeatedly. On the Covenant see also IV, 53ff., 290ff, V, 80ff, VI, 38ff.

[2] Ibid., 290.

[3] On Joachim see Karl Löwith, Meaning in History (Univ. of Chicago, 1949), chap. VIII.

[4] GTD, Works, V, 136-37; Rev. 12 and 19.

saves him from too much dependence upon the future at the expense of the past. It is in the significant present that Fox finds the fulfilment of the past and the foundation of the future. Christ is already present, as the mountain filling the whole earth, as the pearl hidden in the soil of men's hearts. The age of the Commonwealth and the Protectorate exhibited a combination of a revived historic sense and an awakened belief in the immediacy of religious experience.[1] The Restoration dimmed both the political and cataclysmic expressions of the resultant millenarianism; but in 1659 Fox, with timeliness, wrote:

> We are of the royal seed, elect and precious, before the world began. . . a people redeemed out of kindreds, kingdoms, peoples, and nations, who are of the household of God, built up together a spiritual house, whose builder and maker is God, and do reign upon the earth, as kings and priests unto God; whom we serve day and night. . . .
> . . . We are they that witness the promise of God fulfilled, and that do witness, that the age is come wherein God would show forth his exceeding riches and kindness, which was wrought amongst the apostles. . . . . We are the preachers of righteousness in the great city Sodom, wherein Christ was crucified. . . . the royal seed Christ. . . renews man again in the image of God, and brings him again to his dominion over the handiworks of God. And this hundreds of thousands are now witnessing. . . redeemed from the earth, and come to be made kings upon the earth. . . . So they that have slain the witnesses, and killed the saints, have been in . . . confusion; and the witnesses are rising, and the everlasting gospel shall be preached again. . . unto all nations. . .[2]

For those who have "come from the world's churches,

---

[1]Nuttall, Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith, p. 104, describes this "insistence on the centrality of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, combined with the current reawakening of an historic sense, " rather than Joachism, as the foundation for the Puritan emphasis upon the "new age."

[2]Epis. 172, Works, VII, 164-66. See Rev. 11 and 12.

and come to know the church that is in God,"[1] the millenium is not a kingdom of worldly might, but the gathering of the Church in spiritual power. Fox seeks in the Church the effective agent in history; but it must be holy and uncompromising:

> And did not Christ say, when he was come, "My kingdom is not of this world?" and also did not he say, "All power in heaven and earth is given unto me?"[2]

Such a Church Fox believed God was restoring in England and the world.[3]

. . . And Coming

It is apparent that the eschatology which Fox considered realized in his own day was neither complete for the saints nor final for the sinners. There remained the continuing state as well as the final judgment to be considered. Fox's concept of the Church in relationship to the state is as follows.

(1) The Church is free from the control of the state. The "world's churches" are those which have to call in the magistrates for protection. He writes:

> The Papist cries, higher powers, help, help, or else my mass will go down, and all my ceremonies.
> The Episcopal man cries, help, help, higher powers, or else my common-prayer goes down.
> The Presbyterian cries, help, help, higher powers, or else my directory will go down.

---

[1] GTD, Works, IV, 127. [2] Ibid., VI,354; John 8:36.

[3] Nuttall, however, writes that Fox's "day of the Lord" "appears to be void of any particularizing chronological content. . . little more than a synonym for divine judgment which is always imminent, upon sin," Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith, p. 112.

> The Independents, and Anabaptist, and others cry, help, help, higher powers, or else our framed faith, (which is our eleven day's work,) will down, and we shall not stand.[1]

Fox believed that the True Church needed no props of violence. Restored into the state of perfection, the Christian's first allegiance is to Christ. Persecution belongs to Nod, the city of Cain and not to the New Jerusalem.[2] A clear distinction is drawn between the spirit of fallen man and the spirit of Christ: "the spirit of Christ does not persecute any that do not receive that which he sets up, but the spirit of the world doth persecute them that will not receive that which its sets up."[3]

Fox was really thinking in terms of a Church-State rather than in terms of Christianity existing in a pagan situation. For it is false religion which he blames, rather than the principle of a state *per se*. Laws which persecute for the sake of religion are usurping what is "God's prerogative," binding "tender consciences" to its will instead of to God's will.[4]

Under an oppressive state this separation meant that the Church endured by suffering. Its royalty is attested by "the royal spirit, that hath the royal, spiritual weapons, and out of the royal seed, which saith, 'love enemies' which is the royal command to the royal priesthood."[5]

---

[1]Epis. 171, *Works*, VII, 162. [2]Epis. 233, *Ibid.*, 254.

[3]*Ibid.*; see also *supra*, Chap. V, p.157, on liberty.

[4]*GTD*, *Works*, VI, 409. [5]Epis. 171, *Works*, VII, 163.

(2) The Church recognizes the authority of the state over "outward evil acts." Fox labored under an era of persecution (or prosecution, from the standpoint of the state) and he was particularly anxious that religious liberty should be granted. It was for freedom to worship, believe, and practise religion that he actively disobeyed the governments. He was no civil anarchist, at any rate; and his views of government for the strictly Christian community were that of the gospel order. This section shows the distinction he drew between the jurisdiction of the state over belief and action:

> Now every sect in Christendom when they have gotten the magistrates' power to maintain their sect with outward laws and carnal weapons, then they will say, "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers," etc. Rom. xiii. and "submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the king, as supreme, or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of them that do well." 1 Pet. ii. 13,14. And rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil. Rom. xiii. 3. And the apostle tells you what these evil works are, and "evil doers, ungodly sinners, unholy, profane, murderers of fathers, and murderers of mothers, man-slayers, whoremongers, lawless, disobedient, and them that defile themselves with mankind, men-stealers, liars, perjured persons," etc. 1 Tim. i. 9, 10. Such the law was made against, and was not made for a righteous man, but against such sinners and evil doers.[1]

These principles are stated in Fox's promise not to take up the sword against Cromwell;[2] in the Declaration sent to King Charles II, to clear suspicion of complicity in the Fifth-Monarchy uprising;[3] and in protest to the

---

[1] GTD, Works, VI, 310-11. [2] The Journal, 197; 1655.

[3] Ibid., pp. 394, 398-404.

King for the Conventicle Act. In this last paper Fox asserts that the law must only apply to evil actions and that the righteous man, led by Christ, "the King of kings", brings forth from a clean heart only righteous outward actions.[1] Only the evil doers need worry about the wrath of the state. Even in an abuse of magistracy, truth is shown by those who feel the sting, for they become "a witness for the convincing of our enemies."[2] God's judgments fall upon magistrates who usurp more than these rights.[3] For both Christian and magistrate are bound by God's laws. This is a radical Christian version of the Royalist principle of society, "Kingship is the organizing principle."[4] Thus the state has no rights over the consciences of those led by King Jesus, only over their actions which in being sinful would render them at the same time criminal and reprobate.

Fox encouraged Friends to appear personally to answer summonses, "that the truth may stand over the head of the liar" and "nothing may reign but the truth."[5] The law is to be honored, even if one must suffer the consequences of conscience, for only in this way are injustices pictured

---

[1] GTD, Works, IV, 361-63.

[2] "The Declaration of 1660", the Journal, p. 401.

[3] GTD, Works, VI, 146.

[4] Francis D. Wormuth, The Royal Prerogative, 1603-1649: A Study in English Political and Constitutional Ideas (Cornell Univ. Press, 1939), p. 7.

[5] Epis. 140, Works, VII, 134.

against the backdrop of truth. Likewise, Fox considered the payment of taxes to be consistent with pacifism. He writes:

> And as for the rulers, that are to keep peace, for peace's sake, and the advantage of truth, give them their tribute. But to bear and carry carnal weapons to fight with, the men of peace (which live in that which takes away the occasion of wars,) they cannot act in such things under the several powers; but have paid their tribute.[1]

He wrote to Friends in the Caribbeans who were responsible for guard duty "to watch in their own way"--without arms-- and to report to the magistrates any infractions much as they would report theft or damage to their own plantations.[2] The partial participation in government represents a stage in which Quakers are not so much the victims of government as they are associates. In Rhode Island, as Fox observed, "Friends were willing to watch, in their own way, and they made a law that none should be compelled to take arms."[3] The separation of church and state did not separate the persons, who were involved in both; and although one detects a growing appreciation for the good things of the state, yet the principles of allegiance to the state in a prescribed area, at least, were quite constant in Fox's thought. The argument for political obedience is scarcely non-religious.[4] It is rather a recognition that not all of the world yet lives in the life that "takes away the occasion for war," and

---

[1]Epis. 177, Works, VII, 168.

[2]Epis. 319, Ibid., VIII, 86. [3]Ibid., 89.

[4]But see Beach,"Meaning and Authority of Conscience", p. 105.

a conviction that this position represents the line drawn by Jesus and the apostles.[1] Thus the state is for Fox an interim proviso for the restraint of sin.

(3) The Church, not the state, represents positive good in history. In the flaming sword vision of 1648,[2] Fox reports that "the Lord opened" to him the three great professions of the world, "physic, divinity (so called), and law." These three ruled the world, "the one pretending the cure of the body, the other the cure of the soul, and the third the property of the people." But they were all gone from the wisdom, the faith, and the law of God. The vision gave him hope that all three might be reformed; and he was "at a stand" in his mind whether he should practise physic for the good of mankind. But despite his "cures", and despite his exhortations to social justice, his calling and his work were for the restoration of the natures of men.

The Church, of course, was conceived in broader terms than institutional ones. But it is essentially redemptive history with which Fox is concerned. When Cromwell said of the Quakers that "they were against both magistracy and ministry", and son Richard, a year earlier, 1656, "our most considerable enemy now in our view are the Quakers,"[3] the real reasons for such im-

---

[1]See the Bible references used, Romans 13; I Tim. 1: 9,10; 1 Peter 2: 13,14; and Matt. 22: 21

[2]See the Journal, pp. 28-33 for this vision.

[3]Cited, Nuttall, Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith, p 131.

plied fears are found in different views of the state. It is doubtful there was any incipient danger of insurrection from the Quakers.[1] But like the Anglicans and the Roman Catholics, who were excluded from toleration, along with the Quakers, Fox held to an authority of the Church over the state and refused to amalgamate the two into a commonwealth of the new Israel, however inspired it might hope to be. Granted that the authority were inward and noncoercive, nevertheless, in the refusal of Friends to pay the tithe and to take the Oath of Abjuration the state was challenged both for its power to legislate in religious matters and to claim preeminent authority.[2] On the second of the four meetings of Fox with Cromwell, the Quaker felt "the power of the Lord God riz in me, and I was moved to bid him lay down his crown at the feet of Jesus."[3]

---

[1]Nuttall, however, believes that fear of political activity had some foundation and that pacifism was not basic to early Quakerism. He cites a paper, now attributed to Fox, To the Councill of Officers of the Armie. . . (1657) in which this appears: "to them that do well, the sword is a praise. . . And if ever you Souldiers and true Officers come again into the power of God which hath been lost, never set up your Standart until you come to Rome, and it be a top of Rome, then there let your Standart stand." See Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith, pp. 131-32.

This paper does not appear in the Works. Whatever its implications, whether to spiritual or carnal warfare, it remains that Fox pledged and kept pacifism, from 1655 on.

[2]See a paper to Cromwell, the Journal, 220; 1655.

[3]The Journal, pp. 274-75. For the consecutive yearly visits with Cromwell, beginning with 1655, see pp. 197-200; 289; and 350.

In 1656, Lilbourne, the disillusioned Leveller, having read the books of Fox's associates, Nayler, Dewsbury, and Hubberthorne, concluded that "unless man was inwardly cleansed and sanctified all attempts to establish the Kingdom of God would be of no avail and would lead to unending outward war in the world."[1] This indicates that Quakers were not primarily concerned with "the kingdoms of this world."

In 1660, Thomas Venner wrote:

> We, therefore freely, of a ready minde, and with a most chearful heart. . . give up our lives and estates unto our Lord King Jesus, and to his people, to become souldiers in the Lambs Army. . . . neither will we ever. . . sheath our swords again, untill Mount Zion becomes the joy of the whole earth. . . untill Rome be in ashes, and Babylon. . . a hissing and a curse. . .[2]

The following January he and his band of followers threw London in a panic (and hundreds of Friends into jail) by their armed riot in the name of King Jesus.[3] Small wonder that the less discriminating associated the Quakers and their "inward coming" with the Fifth-Monarchy men and their "outward coming". But in 1661, a few days after the riot, Fox and other leading Friends declared, in effect, that they would never drop the Church for the state. They

---

[1]Schenk, Social Justice in the Puritan Revolution, p. 35.

[2]Door of Hope, cited in Champlin Burrage, The Fifth Monarchy Insurrections (Reprinted from the English Historical Review, October, 1910; London: Spottiswoode & Co., Ltd., 1910), p. 740.

[3]See the Journal, pp. 393ff; also Braithwaite, Second Period of Quakerism, p. 9.

declared that the Lord who had redeemed them out of the occasion of war would not command them to take up arms.[1] To the accusation that they might change principles, in the name of the guidance of the spirit, they replied in terms indicating their faith that the kingdom of Christ advances according to spiritual principles and that they are not interested in possessing an outward state. Thus:

> . . . the spirit of Christ. . . will never move us to fight and war against any man with outward weapons, neither for the kingdom of Christ, nor for the kingdoms of this world.
>
> First:
>
> Because the kingdom of Christ God will exalt, according to his promise, and cause it to grow and flourish in righteousness. "Not by might, nor by power of outward sword, but by my spirit, saith the Lord." (Zech. iv. 6.). . . .
>
> Secondly:
>
> And as for the kingdoms of this world, we cannot covet them, much less can we fight for them, but we do earnestly desire and wait, that by the Word of God's power and its effectual operation in the hearts of men, the kingdoms of this world may become the kingdoms of the Lord, and of his Christ. . .[2]

Fox told the Fifth-Monarchy men who looked for Christ's coming, outwardly, in 1666, that the "whore" (false church) was not without them but within them, where it should be burnt with God's fire.[3]

From the standpoint of the state, the Quakers represented a position similar to that of the Fifth-Monarchy,--an idealism so perfect that it could only weaken the compromise represented by the government of the Pro-

---

[1]The Journal, p. 399. [2]Ibid., p. 400.

[3]Ibid., p. 419; 1661.

tectorate.[1] But Fox was interested in the restoration of men into a state of spiritual holiness. The Restoration of Charles II to the throne but intensified the persecution of those who would have King Jesus but would not fight or stage riots in his behalf.

The position of Fox in choosing the Church as the agent of God's purposes of redemption and good for mankind is shown in contrasting the emphases of Winstanley and himself. To Winstanley, the earth is the "common treasury;"[2] to Fox the field of the heart contains the hidden Pearl.[3] Winstanley writes:

> I am assured that if it be rightly searched into, the inward bondage of the mind, as covetousness, pride, hypocrisie, envy, sorrow, fears, desperation, and madness, are all occasioned by the outward bondage, that one sort of people lay upon another.[4]

The same year Fox told the people of Ulverston that for the one who "loves the light and brings his works to the light. . . there is no occasion at all of stumbling."[5] The restoration for Winstanley is in terms of the creation and the commonwealth; for Fox it is in terms of redemption and the Church.[6]

---

[1]Brown, Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men, p. 205, considers that like the Anabaptists, these groups in England, by standing for the ideal of a perfect state, aided the reestablishment of the absolutism of the Stuarts.

[2]"True Leveller Standard," Works, ed. Sabine, p. 260.

[3]GTD, Works, IV, 164-68.

[4]"Law of Freedom," Works, ed. Sabine, p. 520.

[5]The Journal, p. 153; 1652.

[6]Cf. "Law of Freedom," Works, ed. Sabine, with Fox's details concerning the "gospel order", supra., Chap. V.

Fox attempted to reshape unity in the name of the Church, from the standpoint of radical Protestantism, in a century in which England's older, medieval unity was collapsing. Under the impetus of a profound sense of the presence of Christ reviving and restoring his Church after the apostolic pattern, Fox looked for the Church of his age as "the primary earthly reflection of the eternal Kingdom."[1] In the "new covenant" Fox found both his king and his contract theory.

Fox's response to the state is puzzling when viewed in isolation. It is interim business, not ultimate work. "Look not back, but keep forward, knowing that the world is enmity with God,"[2] wrote Fox, indicating that the framework must be eschatological, the march of an evangelism that spreads the truth abroad, "that the sound of the trumpet of the Lord's host may be heard in the nations and islands."[3]

Fox has a better concept of the Church in full stride than in standing still, at peace with neighbors and nations. A few years before his death, Fox wrote Friends in West Jersey and Pennsylvania, urging them to evangelize the Indians, "that they may know the way of salvation. . . how Christ hath died for them. . .", and leaving this warning, "For if ye should settle down in

---

[1] A phrase used by George H. Williams, The Church, The Democratic State, and the Crisis in Religious Education (Harvard Divinity School address, 1948), p. 46, distinguishing the West from the East's Christianized state ideal.

[2] Epis. 58, Works, VII, 73. [3] Epis. 186, Ibid., 175.

the earth, and have plenty, and be full, and at ease for a time, and not keep in the power, and service, and spirit of God, you would quickly come to lose your conditions, as some did in Rhode Island, when settled down in the earth. . ."[1]

The Church which stubbornly insisted upon its right to "stay put" and worship in freedom from state interference was also a missionary Church, God's ambassadors gathering up the sheep that are lost and torn,[2] and bringing nations to heel. With an audacity which cannot be understood apart from its "present-future" eschatology, Fox exhorts the Turk to believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and

> . . . dread the Lord, whose mighty power is spreading over all nations, who commands all nations to forsake idols. . . .
> . . . Now is the mighty supreme judge risen, and the supreme judge risen, and the mighty King of glory, the Lord of hosts. . . is his name. . . and his mighty power is gone forth to the gathering of all nations to himself.[3]

The final judgment provides for Fox a kind of polarity, along with that of Jesus Christ in history. It stands as a warning against those who would assume rights over the souls of men. The parable of the wheat and the tares[4] is the document of dissent as well as an opportunity to repent (the tares may repent and be converted if they are given time[5]). Fox writes, "Christ did not give men power

---

[1]Epis. 413, Ibid., VIII, 305-6. [2]GTD, Works, IV, 29.
[3]Ibid., 216-21. [4]Matt. 13. [5]GTD, Works, VI, 344.

before the world was ended, to pluck up the tares, lest they should pluck up the wheat with the tares; for that power Christ gives to his angels, to sever the wheat from the tares at the end of the world."[1]

As the witness of the disciples of Jesus, as they shook the dust from their feet against those who would not hear, brought "punishment enough for them in the day of judgment," so the judgment of God upon those who reject the light needs nothing more from man.[2]

The end of history is the completion of a triumph which the Church already knows in the present. For Fox the "Church Triumphant" begins with the new birth and not with death. Accordingly, he is interested primarily in the present realization of Christian victory, satisfied to know the restoration into the image of God and satisfied to leave the restitution of all things in God's hands.[3] Christ's own resurrection enables the true believers to receive "their resurrection unto everlasting life", while those who "have lived the life of Adam, and would not believe in Christ" receive the "resurrection of condemnation."[4] He quotes the Pauline doctrine of the resurrection profusely ("the apostle Paul explains very fully the resurrection"[5]) and rests upon the assurance that those who "live

---

[1] Ibid., VI, 146; cf. IV, 330-31. [2] Ibid., 146.

[3] Ibid., VI, 378. [4] Ibid., 298; see 280-301.

[5] Ibid., 298. He cites also Rev. 20: 6, 14, 15; Matt. 25: 46; John 5: 29, etc.

and walk in Christ" are out of the death of Adam and have power over the second. Fox has a timelessness in the relationship which shows a mystical quality and yet does not lose the perspective of God's redemptive work in history. The highest good is found in Christ, the resurrection and the life, in whom "all are blessed and happy eternally."[1]

Summary

Fox believed that Christ had come in an inward but decisive way, during Fox's time, to gather together the true Church, judging apostasy and leading his Church. It is in the realization that Christ is found as the Pearl of great price, the mountain that fills the earth, the covenant of promise, that the Church becomes a holy and uncompromising agent of God in history. The realized eschatology must continue to spread the gospel through the world. In relation to the state the Church asserts its freedom from control, recognizes the authority of the state over "evil acts" but does not expect it to judge the consciences of men, and asserts itself as the representative of positive good in history. This assertion rendered Fox and the Quakers suspect in the eyes of the state, but they protested their pacifistic principles. Fox's ideal of the Church is best viewed as a movement of world evangelism, in which the sense of the present awareness of Christ and the future, final judgment inspires

---

[1] Ibid., 298.

constancy in belief and in evangelism. The Church is thus called to take its message of Restoration to all men, without assuming control over the souls of any through carnal weapons. The ultimate verdicts rest with God.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

> And who are come to the church in God, do see above all the churches of Adam in the fall, drove from God.[1]

The hypothesis upon which this study has rested, that the discovery of a dominant ideal will provide the most suitable framework for the views of George Fox, appears to be validated, for investigation has shown his concept of the Church to be such an ideal. In rejecting current ideas about the Church, Fox did not thereby seek to dispense with it. The concept of the Church provides the framework for his religious ideas in the following ways.

(1) The Church provides the framework for his views on the relationship of past and present Christian conversion experience. In the complete rejection of sacramental regeneration Fox did not thereby reject the transcendent aspects of Christian experience. Instead he vigorously affirmed God's initiation of salvation and stressed a revealed religion which linked contemporary experience with God's work through the ages. His allegory is based on history, i.e., Biblical history. The Light Within is the resurrected Lord, identified with Jesus of history. Conversion is a real, righteous renewal which unites one in the Body of Christ. It is a restoration to a norm identified as that of the ideal

---

[1]Epis. 194, Works, VII, 185.

apostolic, pentecostal Church. His departure from the Baptist principles of adult baptism represents the impact of "spiritual religion" upon his thinking.

Subjectivism is the danger spot in this position, both in the lack of formalization of the conversion experience and in the interpretation of Christ. The objectivity of Christ is a vital phase of Fox's thought. The nineteenth century, on critical grounds, separated more than Fox ever could have contemplated the Historic and Inward Christ; and Friends of the twentieth century wrestle with this problem. But Fox, with his teaching of a restored nature and a holy relationship considers the Church to be by miraculous transformation a people gathered by the power of Jesus Christ.

(2) The Church provides the framework for spiritual authority among Christians consonant with individual freedom. The Church is the invisible-visible organism of the gathered people. Seekers and Finders lost their identity, but in the Quakers there remains at least the appendix of a movement which aimed to be the Restored Church. It is by Fox's dynamism in attempting to call the shepherd-less into one sheep fold that he takes his place as a reformer. The struggles of the early Quaker movement reflect his efforts to harmonize individual inspiration with group inspiration. In his emphasis upon the gospel fellowship, the gospel order, and the apostolate, the concept of the Church, cast in a mold of a restoration to constant patterns

VII
3

given in the New Testament, emerges as the vital factor. It is the Holy Community of Fox's vision. The Church recognizes what God has witnessed to individuals. Thus Fox placed his hopes for the continuance of the movement upon the aggressive evangelism, the undeviating testimonies, and the separation of the saints from the world. The essence of organism is life; and the danger point lies in a failure to insure that growth.[1] In the efforts of Fox to perpetuate the apostolate through the "public" ministers can be seen the attempt to stave off the ingrowing tendencies which readily manifested themselves even before his death. Without provision to insure a converted constituency other than disownment for "disorderly walkers," membership naturally evolved into a birthright. And without provision to carry out an aggressive program of conversion, through inspired and able ministers, the seeds were laid for future isolation or compromise with the world. But Fox's ideal, at any rate, was of the Church in motion and not neutral to the world.[2]

---

[1]Troeltsch, Social Teaching of the Christian Churches, asserts that the sect type of social doctrine faces these choices: "either it does not recognize the institutions, groups, and values which exist outside of Christianity at all, or in a quietly tolerant spirit of detachment from the world it avoids them, or under the influence of an "enthusiastic" eschatology it attacks these institutions and replaces them by a purely Christian order of society." See II, 461ff. Fox's position was certainly spiritual attack.

[2]The community aspect of Fox's doctrine is very similar to that of the Anabaptists, whose "internal organization . . . was a function of their capacity as pilgrims, missioners and martyrs." See Littell, Anabaptist View of the Church p. 110.

(3) The Church provides for Fox the framework for the meaning of God in history. The elect are not those whose arbitrary selection gives them a special place either in heaven or on earth. The "spiritual Israel" are those in the Church of the new covenant. They claim first the freedom from sin in their own hearts before claiming the heritage of God. Fox rejected the positions of both Winstanley and Venner, to claim salvation through the true Church. His concept of the Church in contemporary history and in the future is that it is a tension of a realized and expected eschatology. The emphasis that Christ had already come into the world and had never left it, but could be, and was being recognized and claimed as the real presence gathering together the obedient of the earth buttressed him and his fellow Friends from the disappointments of the Fifth-Monarchy men. It placed social concern in an important place as Christian responsibility, but gave to the Church the place of positive value in history. The saints were invited to enjoy the present good which was realizable amid persecution in the restored bliss of the Paradise of the heart. Fox looked for the spreading of this recognition of the Light and seemed confident that with the passing of the apostate church righteousness would soon cover the earth, until the coming of the end. In this concept of progress it is the Church which is the gathering of those to whom God gives his grace.

Trevelyan has stated that England should be proud of the Quaker emphasis upon the importance of Christian qualities; and he adds this picturesque characterization:

> The Puritan pot had boiled over, with much heat and fury; when it had cooled and been poured away, this precious sediment was left at the bottom.[1]

This would have saddened Fox. He certainly intended that the movement of which he was an apostle should be more than "sediment", however precious. He intended no monastic order of Protestantism but rather a Church restored universally to its purity. Despite his crudities and limitations, Fox was able to give forth a rather consistent ideal of the Church from the standpoint of radical Puritanism,--an ideal that represents one phase of the Puritan revolution in which the questions of the nature of the Church and the nature of authority form a miniature for the twentieth century.

---

[1] G. M. Trevelyan, Illustrated English Social History, (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1951), II, 125.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The Major Sources[1]

The Journal of George Fox. A revised edition by John L. Nickalls, with an Epilogue by Henry J. Cadbury and an Introduction by Geoffrey F. Nuttall. Cambridge: University Press, 1952. (The Journal)

The Journal or Historical Account of the Life, Travels, Sufferings, Christian Experiences, and Labour of Love, in the Work of the Ministry, of that Ancient, Eminent, and Faithful Servant of Jesus Christ, George Fox. 2 vols. Philadelphia: Kimber & Sharpless, 1839. (Ellwood Journal)

The collected Works. Re-print. Philadelphia: Marcus T.C. Gould, 1831. As follows:

The Great Mystery of the Great Whore Unfolded; and AntiChrist's Kingdom Revealed unto Destruction. London, 1659. (MGW). Vol. III.

Saul's Errand to Damascus, With His Packet of Letters From the High Priests against the Disciples of the Lord. London, 1654. Vol. III.

Gospel Truth Demonstrated, in a Collection of Doctrinal Books, Given Forth by that Faithful Minister of Jesus Christ, George Fox: Containing Principles Essential to Christianity and Salvation, Held Among the People Called Quakers. London, 1706. (GTD). Vols. IV, V, VI.

A Collection of Many Select and Christian Epistles, Letters and Testimonies, Written on Sundry Occasions, by that Ancient, eminent, faithful Friend, and minister of Christ Jesus, George Fox. London; 1698. (e.g., "Epis. 172"). Vols. VII and VIII.

---

[1]The footnote abbreviations are shown by the symbols enclosed in parentheses. See also the discussion of the sources, Chap. I.

Miscellaneous works not in collection, as follows:

Fox, George. Cain against Abel, representing New England's Church Hirarchy, in opposition to her CHRISTIAN Protestant Dissenters. 1675.

Fox, George, and Burnyeat, John. A New England Fire-Brand Quenched, being an answer unto a slanderous Book, Entituled GEORGE FOX Digged out of His Burrows. . . by Roger Williams. 1678.

Books

Augustine, St. The City of God. Translated by Marcus Dods. Introduction by Thomas Merton. Modern Library; New York: Random House, 1950.

Barclay, Robert. An Apology for the True Christian Divinity, Being an Explanation and Vindication of the Principles and Doctrines of the People Called Quakers. Stereotype edition. Philadelphia: Friends' Book Store, 1908.

Barclay, Robert and Keith, George. Quakerism Confirmed, or a Vindication of the chief Doctrines and Principles of the people called Quakers from the arguments and objections of the Students of divinity so called of Aberdeen in their book entitled Quakerism Convassed. 1676.

Barclay, Robert. A Treatise on Church Government, formerly called Anarchy of the Ranters, Etc. Being a Twofold Apology for the Church and People of God, called, in Derision, Quakers. Philadelphia edition, 1822.

Barclay, Robert (the Latter). The Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth. London: 1876.

Bartlett, Percy. Quakers and the Christian Church. Faith and Order Commission, Society of Friends. London: Friends Book Centre, 1942.

Baxter, Richard. The Quakers Catechism, Or the Quakers questioned, their Questions Answered, and Both Published, For the Sake of those of them that have not yet sinned unto Death; and of those ungrounded Novices that are most in danger of their seduction. London: 1655.

Benson, Lewis. Prophetic Quakerism. Available at Friends Book Store, Philadelphia, 1944.

Bickley, A. C. George Fox and the Early Quakers. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1884.

Braithwaite, William C. The Beginnings of Quakerism. London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1912.

_____. The Message of Quakerism. Philadelphia: John C. Winston, 1912.

_____. The Second Period of Quakerism. London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd., 1919.

Brayshaw, A. Neave. The Personality of George Fox. London: Headley Brothers, 1919.

_____. The Quakers: Their Story and Message. 3rd. ed. revised. London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1946.

Brinton, Howard. Friends for 300 Years. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1952.

Brown, Louise Fargo. The Political Activities of the Baptists and Fifth Monarchy Men In England During the Interregnum. Washington; The American History Association, 1912.

Bugg, Francis. The Pilgrim's Progress, from Quakerism, to Christianity. . . Together with a Remedy proposed for the Cure of Quakerism. London, 1698.

Burrage, Champlin. The Fifth Monarchy Insurrections. Reprinted from the English Historical Review, October, 1910. London: Spottiswoode & Co., Ltd., 1910.

Cadbury, Henry J. (ed.). The Annual Catalogue of George Fox's Papers, compiled in 1694-97. With omissions and additions. Philadelphia: Friends Book Store, 1939.

_____. (ed.). George Fox's "Book of Miracles". Cambridge University Press, 1948.

Comfort, William Wistar. Quakers in the Modern World. New York: Macmillan and Company, 1949.

Croese, Gerald. History of the Quakers, Lives, Tenets, Sufferings, etc. London: 1696.

Dell, William. The Building, Beauty, Teaching, and Establishment of the truly Christian and Spiritual Church. London: G. Calvert, 1651.

_____. The Trial of Spirits Both in Teachers and Hearers. Several Sermons and Discourses series. London: 1652.

_____. Uniformity Examined, Whether it be found in the Gospel, or in the Practice of the Churches, of Christ. London, 1651.

_____. The Way to True Peace and unity in the True Church of Christ. Sermons series. London, 1651.

Edwards, Thomas. Gangraena: Or a Catalogue and Discovery of many of the Errours, Heresies, Blasphemies and pernicious practices of the Sectaries of this time, vented and acted in England in these four last years. London: M.DC. XLVI.

Evans, Charles. Friends in the Seventeenth Century. Philadelphia: Friends Book Store, 1876.

Evans, Thomas. A Concise Account of the Religious Society of Friends, commonly called Quakers; embracing a Sketch of their Christian Doctrines and Practises. Philadelphia: Friends Book Store, 1856.

Farnsworth, R[ichard]. A Confession and Profession of of Faith in God by His People who are in scorn called Quakers, Also showing that the People of God are no Vagabonds, nor Idle, Dissolute Persons, nor Jesuites, though they wander up and down, and pass from one Country to another, as they are moved of the Lord in his service. London: Giles Calvert, (1658).

Fell, Margaret. A Call to the Universal Seed of God throughout the whole World, To Come up to the Place of Publick Worship, which Christ Jesus the great Prophet hath set up. . . 1665.

Flew, Robert Newton. The Idea of Perfection in Christian Theology. London: Oxford University Press, 1934.

Gardiner, S. R. The Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution, 1625-1660. 3rd edition revised. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906.

_____. The First Two Stuarts and the Puritan Revolution 1603-1660. 9th ed. London: Longmans, Green & Co, 1890.

Gardiner, S. R. History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, 1649-60. 3 vols. 2nd edition. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1897.

Glass, Henry Alexander. The Barbone Parliament. London: James Clark & Co., 1899.

Gough, John. A History of the People Called Quakers. 4 vols. Dublin, M.DCC. XC.

Grubb, Edward. The Historic and the Inward Christ: A Study in Quaker Thought. Swarthmore Lecture. London: Headley Brothers, 1914.

Gurney, Joseph John. Observations on the Distinguishing Views and Practices of the Society of Friends. London: John and Arthur Arch, 1834.

Gwatkin, Henry Melvill. Church and State in England. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1917.

Haller, William. The Rise of Puritanism. New York: Columbia University Press, 1938.

Hancock, Thomas. The Peculium: An Endeavour to throw Light on some of the Causes of the Decline of the Society of Friends. London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1859.

Helwys, Thomas. The Mistery of Iniquity. Reproduced from the copy presented to King James (1612) London: Baptist Historical Society, 1935.

Hodgkin, Thomas. George Fox. Leaders of Religion series, edited by H.C. Beeching. London: Methuen, 1896.

H(owgill), F(rancis). The Glory of the True Church Discovered as it was in its Purity in the Primitive Time. London: Giles Calvert, 1661.

Hutton, William Holden. The English Church from the Accession of Charles I to the Death of Anne. London: Macmillan and Co., 1903.

Janney, Samuel M. The Life of George Fox with Dissertation on His Views. Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Co., 1853.

Jones, Rufus M. Mysticism and Democracy in the English Commonwealth. Cambridge: Harvard University, 1932.

_____. Original Quakerism, A Movement, Not a Sect. The Isaac T. and Lida K. Johnson lecture for 1945, The Five Years Meeting of Friends. Richmond, Ind., 1945.

Jones, Rufus M. Spiritual Reformers in the 16th and 17th Centuries. London: Macmillan & Co., 1914.

_____. Studies in Mystical Religion. London: Macmillan & Co., 1923.

_____. The Trail of Life in the Middle Years. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1934.

King, Rachel H. George Fox and the Light Within, 1650-1660. Philadelphia: Friends Book-Store, 1940.

Knappen, M. M. Tudor Puritanism: A Chapter in the History of Idealism. Chicago: University Press, 1939.

Knox, R. A. Enthusiasm: A Chapter in the History of Religion, with special reference to the XVII and XVIII centuries. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950.

Lacey, T. A. The Unity of the Church. Vol. XXV of the Church Historical Society. London: SPCK, 1898.

Littell, Franklin Hamlin. The Anabaptist View of the Church. Vol. VIII of Studies in Church History, edited by J. Nichols and W. Pauck. American Society of Church History, 1952.

Lloyd, Arnold. Quaker Social History, 1669-1738. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1950.

Löwith, Karl. Meaning in History: the Theological Implications of the Philosophy of History. Chicago: University Press, 1949.

Lucus, Sidney. The Quaker Story. New York: Harpers & Pendle Hill, 1949.

McLachlan, H. John. Socinianism in Seventeenth Century England. Oxford: University Press, 1951.

Marsh, Josiah. A Popular Life of George Fox. Philadelphia: Henry Longstreth, n. d.

Mekeel, Arthur J. Quakerism and a Creed. Philadelphia: Friends Book Store, 1936.

Milton, John. Complete Poetry and Selected Prose. The Modern Library. New York: Random House, 1950.

More, Paul Elmer and Cross, Frank Leslie. (eds.) Anglicanism. London: SPCK, 1935.

Mott, Edward. Sixty Years of Gospel Ministry. Portland, Oregon: Private publication, 1947.

Munk, Arthur W. History and God, Clues to His Purpose. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1952.

Nuttall, Geoffrey. The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1946.

_____. Studies in Christian Enthusiasm, Illustrated from Early Quakerism. Philadelphia: Pendle Hill, 1948.

Penington, Isaac. Concerning the Church: or, Of the Church-State under the Gospel, etc. From Alisbury Prison. Printed in London, 1666.

Penn, William, and Whitehead, George. The Christian-Quaker and His Divine Testimony Vindicated by Scripture, Reason and Authorities; against the Injurious Attempts, that have been lately made by several Adversaries, with Manifest Design to render Him Odiously Inconsistent with Christian-Civil Society. In two parts. Printed in the Year 1674.

_____. The Rise and Progress of the People called Quakers. (First printing, 1694) Philadelphia: Henry Perkins, 1838.

Plum, Harry Grant. Restoration Puritanism: a Study of the Growth of English Liberty. University of North Carolina Press, 1943.

Plummer, Alfred. English Church History; from the death of Charles I to the death of William III. Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark, 1907.

Russell, Elbert. The History of Quakerism. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1943.

Schenk, Wilhelm. The Concern for Social Justice in the Puritan Revolution. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1948.

Sewell, William. A History of the Rise, Increase, and and Progress of the Christian People Called Quakers. (First printed, 1725) 2 vols in 1. Philadelphia: Friends Book Store, 1856.

Sippell, Theodor. Werdendes Quäkertum. Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1937.

Slattery, Charles L. The Light Within: a Study of the Holy Spirit. London: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1915.

Smith, Joseph. Bibliotheca Anti-Quakeriana; Or a Catalogue of Books Adverse to the Society of Friends . . . together with the Answers which have been given to some of them by Friends and others. London: 1873.

_____. A Descriptive Catalogue of Friends' Books. 2 vols. London, 1867.

Tallack, William. George Fox, The Friends, and Early Baptists. London: 1868.

Trevelyan, G. M. Illustrated English Social History, Vol., Two. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1951.

Troeltsch, Ernst. The Social Teaching of the Christian Translated by Olive Wyon. 2 vols. New York: Macmillan Company, 1931.

Tuke, Henry. The Faith of the People Called Quakers in Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, set forth in Various Extracts from their Writings. From the 3rd York ed. Philadelphia: B. & T. Kite, 1828.

Turner, Frederick Storrs. The Quakers: A Study Historical and Critical. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1889.

Wagstaff, William R. A History of the Society of Friends. New York, 1845.

Walker, Williston. A History of the Christian Church. New York: Charles Scribners Sons, 1943.

Wand, J. W. C. A History of the Modern Church. London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1949.

Willey, Basil. The Seventeenth Century Background: Studies in the Thought of the Age in Relation to Poetry and Religion. London: Chatto & Winders, 1934.

Williams, George H. The Church, The Democratic State, and the Crisis in Religious Education. Opening address, Harvard Divinity School, September, 1948.

Williams, Roger. George Fox Digg'd out of his Burrowes or an offer of Disputation of fourteen Proposalls made this last Summer 1672 (so called) unto G. Fox then present on Rode-Island in New-England. With an Appendix of some scores of G.F. his simple lame answers to his Opposites in that Book, quoted and replyed to by R.W. of Providence in N.E. Boston: John Foster, 1676.

The Works of Gerrard Winstanley, with Appendix of Documents relating to the Digger Movement. Edited with an Introduction by George H. Sabine. New York: Cornell University, 1941.

Wood, H. G. George Fox. Leaders of Revivals series. London, 1912.

Woodhouse, A. S. P. (ed.). Puritanism and Liberty. The Army Debates, 1647-49, from the Clarke Mss. and other documents. Foreword by A. D. Lindsay. London: J. M. Dent, and Co., Ltd., 1938.

Wormuth, Francis D. The Royal Prerogative, 1603-1649: a Study in English Political and Constitutional Ideas. Cornell University Press, 1939.

Articles

Beach, Waldo. "Freedom and Authority in Protestant Ethics," The Journal of Religion, Vol. 32 (April, 1952).

Hudson, Winthrop S. "Gerrard Winstanley and the Early Quakers," Church History, Vol. XII (1943).

_____. "Mystical Religion in the Puritan Commonwealth," The Journal of Religion, Vol. 28 (January, 1948).

_____. "A Suppressed Chapter in Quaker History," The Journal of Religion, Vol. 24 (April, 1944).

Jones, Rufus M. "The Quaker Conception of the Church," The American Friend, Vol. 25 (May 30, 1918).

Nickalls, John L. "George Fox's Library," The Journal of the Friends Historical Society, Vol. XXVIII (1931).

Tolles, Frederick B. "1652 in History," The Bulletin of the Friends Historical Association, Vol. 41 (Spring, 1952).

Unpublished Material

Beach, Waldo. "The Meaning and Authority of Conscience in Protestant Thought of the Seventeenth Century England." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1944.

Hinshaw, Cecil Eugene. "Perfectionism in Early Quakerism," Unpublished Th.D. dissertation, The Iliff School of Theology, Denver, 1943.

Johnson, George A. "From Seeker to Finder: A Study in 17th Century Spiritualism." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago (microfilmed), 1948.

Molin, S. Eric. "George Fox as a Seventeenth Century Religious Writer." Unpublished M.A. thesis, Columbia University, 1951.

Roberts, Arthur O. "The Concepts of Perfection in the History of the Quaker Movement." Unpublished B.D. thesis, Nazarene Theological Seminary, Kansas City, Missouri, 1951.

Schofield, Russell G. "The Ranters of 17th Century England." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1949.

Shideler, Emerson W. "An Experiment in Spiritual Ecclesiology: The Quaker Concept of the Church." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago (microfilmed), 1948.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to determine the significance of George Fox's concept of the Church for his doctrinal teachings and for his work as a religious leader in seventeenth century England. Literature in the field of early Quakerism, extensive and varied though it is, has neglected formulation of Fox's views on the basis of such a dominant ideal. The present study is based primarily upon the printed collection of Fox's Works.

During the Interregnum, England struggled for authority and for unity. Fox was part of the radical wing of the Puritan movement and his own spiritual struggles mirrored the unrest of the times. While unity was sought primarily under the impetus of Christian motivation, the radical groups reflected varied attitudes toward the Church. The Seekers waited for the Church, the Ranters despaired of it, the Fifth Monarchy men looked for its rule in the imminent return of Christ, the mystics spiritualized it passively, the Levellers spiritualized it actively, while the Baptists and Independents separated congregations of believers out from the world.

Fox shared in criticism of the existing churches. He considered the church to be apostate on these counts: (1) impure conduct, by which professing Christians separated religion from morality by the sins of pride, greed,

and cruelty; (2) empty forms, equating buildings with the Church, outward methods for true worship, and sacraments for the real presence of Christ; (3) unworthy methods of church maintenance, consisting of the forced support of spiritually unqualified ministers who resorted to persecution to defend their "man-made" religion; and (4) inadequate doctrines, consisting of the rejection of claims upon a Christ experimentally known and the excuse to continue in sin until death.

With what seemed to his enemies to be audacious effrontery, Fox not only criticized the Church, but dared claim it in the gathering "of those in scorn called Quakers," Fox cannot be understood at all apart from an appreciation of his dependence upon revelation. He believed that Christ was gathering his Church currently as he had in apostolic days. Fox did not deny the inspiration of Scripture, but asserted that God inspired men, not in defiance of what had already been done and said, but in accordance with the unity of God's revealed ways of redemption. Fox believed that the true Church was being gathered in the power of Jesus Christ, whose atoning death and mediatorship, and whose life-bestowing resurrection effect salvation to those who accept him as he comes to man's experience as the Word of God, the Inward Light.

Fox depicted Christ as the Seed whom God elects for the destruction of the evil nature in man. The doctrine of election was thus enlarged, for men may respond to the

elected One, or they may reject. Fox posited a holiness doctrine. His soteriology called for the restoration of man to a moral state in which the complete Fall is negated by the complete offering of Christ. Neither drama nor legal fiction sufficed; redemption must consist of real, imparted righteousness. Fox's thought reveals a double dualism: the one is between the opposites, good-evil, seed of the serpent and the seed of God, deceit and truth, false church and true Church; and the other is between the old and the new, the old covenant and the new, the old baptism and the new. Over the first dualism Christ brings victory; to the second completion. Thus, metaphysically and historically, the true Church is composed of sanctified, restored individuals.

Outward baptism was considered outmoded. Fox deemed that Christ's baptism with the Holy Spirit could certify the grace of God experientially. This sense of the real presence of Christ marked his idea of conversion experience with the note of victory. Puritan "wayfaring and warfaring" had for him a destination and a victory in this life as well as in the life to come. Charges of infallibility assailed Fox, but he argued from the certainty of God's revelations. God's contact is in personal, present experience. Fox is saved from subjectivism by his position that there is unity and constancy in God, in the redemptive history, and in the reality of Christ who leads his people together. The mystery of the relationship of God and man

was found in transference, not accommodation; in Christ, not in man; in will, not in essence.

This gathered Church presents itself, believed Fox, in ways which may be described as follows:

(1) It is a gospel fellowship uniting restored persons by the common inward experience of salvation. Under the leadership of Christ, the Church is able to give outward recognition to those whom Christ has gathered to his body. Christ universally available is the guarantee of the catholicity of the Church and the gathered fellowship is his visible body.

(2) It is a gospel order, whereby the apostolic pattern provides an historical basis and guide for revealed authority, serves to check individualism, posits a universal basis for authority in opposition to congregationalism, and aims at giving a "divine unction" to the practical administration of church affairs.

(3) It is the holy community, demonstrating the restored nature of its members devotionally, through worship which claims the inspiration of the spirit and needs no outward symbol for its communion with Christ; ethically, through testimonies against compulsory tithes and the taking of oaths as unworthy of the New Testament, and for honesty and simplicity and active love as the true Christian witness to holiness; and socially, by emphasizing marriage as a sanctifying ordinance of God, to be guided by the Church children as a heritage of the Lord, to be trained and brought

to the Covenant of Light, and the needy as responsibilities for its care.

(4) It is a fellowship of evangelism, in which the apostolate rests upon the ministers who are called out of common walks of life to speak the words of reconciliation. The ministers are distinctly called of God, they may receive voluntary support in their public service, and their gifts are recognized and guarded by the Church.

Fox believed that Christ had come in an inward, but decisive way, during his own time, to gather together the true Church ~~from out of the~~ apostate Church, upon which the judgments of God were falling. The realized eschatology finds in the awareness of Christ the "pearl of great price," and the "mountain that fills the earth." Redemption in Christ is the beginning of the end, delayed, but now resumed. With the Church thus in motion, Fox viewed the state with little implications of optimism. He opposed all attempts to displace "God's prerogative" in the matter of conscience. He asserted the right of the state to punish evil doers; but insisted that people who do evil are not Christian. Hence, Fox placed the responsibility for positive good in the world directly upon the Church, treating the state as a kind of interim order for the wicked. He would not discard the Church visible for Commonwealth, Protectorate, or King; nor would he "restore" King Jesus with a sword. Thus he reacted against the tendency of radical Puritanism to secularize the Christian ideal.

Fox's optimism toward the complete realization of the coming of Christ was based upon his visions of the conquest of the world by the weapons of the spirit-- a conquest by evangelism. He viewed the final judgment as a warning against those who would assume rights over the souls of men and as the vindication of God upon evil and good. Fox stressed the future life rather briefly, content with the expositions given in the New Testament. The Church triumphant begins, for him, with the new birth; hence the Church already knows a triumph and a presence the beauty and glory of which can only be extended in the restitution of all things unto God.

Thus the ideal of the Restored Church is central for Fox. It provides the framework for his views on the doctrines of salvation, on spiritual authority and individual freedom in Christian society, and on the meaning of God in history.

AUTOBIQGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Arthur Owen Roberts, born at Caldwell, Idaho, January 7, 1923, to Owen Lawrence and Bertha (Jansonius) Roberts. I attended the Pleasant Ridge grade school; the Caldwell high school; the Friends (Quaker) academy at Greenleaf, Idaho; the College of Idaho, Caldwell; and received the A.B. degree from Pacific College (now renamed "George Fox College"), Newberg, Oregon, in June, 1944. I received the B.D. degree from the Nazarene Theological Seminary, Kansas City, Missouri, in June, 1951.

Since 1944 I have been in the pastoral ministry, serving Friends' churches in Everett, Washington (1944-48), Kansas City, Missouri (1948-51), and the Methodist churches of Grasmere and Goffstown, New Hampshire (1951-53). Beginning in the fall, 1953, I will hold a position as assistant professor of Religion on the staff of George Fox College.